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West Europe

TURKISH EXPATRIATES' RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENTS, HOME CONNECTIONS

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TURKISH EXPATRIATES' RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENTS, HOME CONNECTIONS

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 22 Feb-15 Mar

[Two-part series by Ugur Mumcu in 22 installments (2 missing): Part I entitled "Islamist Turks in Europe"; Part II entitled "Islamist Organizations and Money"]

[22 Feb 87 pp 1,13]

[Text] "Islamic state. It will come one day."

The mosque reverberates with this slogan. Most of the congregation is made up of men wearing beards, berets and turbans. Most of them are young, almost children. Every time Cemalettin Kaplan invokes the word "Allah," everyone in the congregation extends his right hand forward and shouts "Allah is great" several times.

"Islamic state. It will come one day."

Mercedes cars are parked in front of the mosque. The congregation will disperse soon, and these people wearing black robes, green baggy trousers, white turbans and beards will board their Mercedeses and head home.

Turbans and Mercedeses.

The turban and the Mercedes have virtually become the symbols of the Turkish religious movements in the FRG.

These Turkish citizens who wear turbans and beards and who ride in Mercedes cars are demanding an "Islamic state."

'Handbook of Communication'

We quote from Cemalettin Kaplan's widely circulated "Handbook of Communication [Tebliğ]":

Our goal: The Islamic state.
Sovereignty: Belongs exclusively to God.
Constitution: It is the Koran.
Law: It is the Shari'a [Islamic law].
The source: It is the Koran once again.

Example and leader: It is the Prophet Muhammad.

Method: It is communication.

What is at issue: The supremacy of God.

Means of communication: Any legitimate means.

The commands of communication: They must be complied with.

Style of communication: Explicit, clear and definitive.

Weapon: Science (ayet [verses of the Koran], hadis [sayings or actions of the Prophet], intelligence and common sense)

Defense and shield: Patience, tolerance and self-defense. "Taking up arms, resorting to crude force and reprisals are not permissible in the age of communications."

Today's Turkey: It is yesterday's Mecca.

As the preacher states these, the congregation goes into a trance.

Islamic Constitution Ready

"Islamic state. It will come one day." The "constitution of the Islamic state" is already here. The Islamic constitution is widely circulated, discussed and debated in mosques in many parts of Europe.

What kind of state will the Islamic state be? Although Cemalettin Kaplan insists that his guide is the Prophet Muhammad, his supporters constantly speak about Iran, Khomeyni and Islamic revolution.

Ahmet Kutahyali is a 32-year-old former literature teacher with whom we engaged in lengthy debates in the Ayasofya Mosque in Zaandam, Holland. This mosque is controlled by Cemalettin Kaplan's organization, the Association of Islamic Congregations and Societies [Islam Cemaat ve Cemiyetler Birligi]. Kutahyali poses with me for a picture and says: "Go ahead and write." He adds:

"In the caption for the picture write: 'The picture of a reactionary.'"

I asked him: "What do you want me to write?"

He replied: "Write: 'A Muslim and an infidel side by side.'"

The Muslim is Ahmet Kutahyali, and I am the infidel. Why infidel? Because I believe in secular thought, that is why.

He says: "Secularism is another religion. It amounts to ungodliness. It amounts to infidelism."

I realize that there is no sense in continuing the argument. I say: "Fine."

I will caption the picture as he requested. "A Muslim and an infidel." But what kind of Muslim? Should I also say "pro-Iranian"?

He says: "Go ahead and write: 'An admirer of the Iranian revolution.'"

Iranian-style Revolution

They state explicitly that they support the Iranian revolution. The magazine, ISLAM CAGRISI [Call of Islam], which is printed and translated into Turkish in Tehran, is widely read in mosques and distributed among Turks. The magazine writes about the Islamic revolution and Khomeyni. It carries Islamic information. The members of the congregation read the publications ISLAMIN CAGRISI and KAYHAN, both distributed by the Iranian embassy, and debate among themselves how the Islamic revolution should be realized.

I listen to Cemalettin Kaplan in the Eyup Sultan Mosque in Bochum, FRG. Very young people are in the congregation. They are apparently Cemalettin Hoja's revolutionary guards. Whenever Kaplan says "Allah," the mosque reverberates with invocations of "Allah is great." The agitational skills of Kaplan, a former Deputy Chairman of Religious Affairs in Turkey, are not bad, but one wonders how he was able to obtain a middle school diploma in Turkey. He shouts and hollers but pronounces words incorrectly. For example, he says "masum [innocent]" for "Mason [Freemason]." Somehow, he cannot manage to say "Mason." When saying "Kemalist" he elongates the "a" and says "Kemaalist." He shouts, he yells, he provokes; in short, he wages political propaganda. He reads Koranic verses in Arabic.

Cemalettin Kaplan's Background

Who is this preacher?

He was born in the Ispir district of Erzurum in 1926. He received his primary religious education from his father. When he began preaching, he had not graduated from even elementary school. After completing his military service, he graduated from elementary, middle and high school as a non-regular student. Later, he entered the Ankara School of Divinity. During the same time he served as a preacher in Ankara. After graduating from the School of Divinity in 1966, he was appointed as an inspector in the Religious Affairs Chairmanship. After serving as Director of Administrative Affairs in the Religious Affairs Chairmanship, Kaplan was appointed Deputy Chairman of Religious Affairs. He served as the Mufti of Adana from 1966 to 1981.

Kaplan maintained excellent relations with the martial law authorities of 1971 and sometimes helped the martial law commanders in his own area of specialty. In 1977, Kaplan ran for parliament as a National Salvation Party [NSP] candidate from Erzurum, but he was not elected. Had he been elected he would obviously have to pledge "allegiance to the secular state" like all parliamentary deputies. No one can doubt that.

How did this preacher "find the true path of Islam" after the age of 60 and launch a "jihad" [Islamic holy war] in Europe for an Islamic state?

Zeal for Martyrdom

He did that because: "Our lord Prophet has stated that at the beginning of each century a renovator will come and introduce a novelty. What will this renovator renew? Religion? No, religion is always new. He will renew the

Muslims' loyalty to religion and to jihad, their zeal and desire for martyrdom and their hopes and eagerness to achieve success and victory. This can only be achieved by communications and jihad which are the ways of the Prophet and his companions and not by surreptitious and secretive party methods.

"Our mosques and congregations in Europe have grown substantially. This is the result of the weakening and the decline of party mentality and political fanaticism after 12 September."

Evren's Favor

From that standpoint, Kaplan Hoja speaks favorably about the 12 September operation. He says:

"Evren came and did us a favor. He punctured the parties' balloons and all of them collapsed. We lived without parties for a few years. We lived so comfortably that our congregation grew. Our congregation was spiritually irritated by this partyism."

In 1981, Kaplan retired voluntarily, apparently at the request of the martial law command. Resenting that deeply, Kaplan thought lengthily about what he could do.

Germany, here I come!

I ask him:

"Was there a lawsuit against you?"

He says no, there was not. The Hoja explains the reasons for that:

"I waited for 6 months fearing that they would detain me any day, but I was not arrested. It was probably God's will. We have a guarantee. We do not embark on any work without reading the Ayetulkursi [256th verse of the 2d Sura of the Koran] three, five or seven times."

Although we are in the middle of our conversation with the Hoja, apparently he has forgotten to read his Ayetulkursi. At that instant he does not have his safety guarantee. To avoid a catastrophe just in case he begins reading the Ayetulkursi in a hurry. And the congregation shouts in unison:

"God is great. God is great. God is great."

Kaplan insists that after his retirement he came to the FRG "at [NSP leader Necmettin] Erbakan's request" and began working with the group known as "National View." Kaplan published several articles in the magazine HICRET [Hegira], but beginning in 1983 Kaplan's path diverged from that of the National View.

Hoja Becomes Communicator in Iran

Kaplan Hoja also went to Iran. Apparently, everything happened there. The Iranian government invited Kaplan to Iran for a visit during the Iranian new year season. It seems that "Friday prayer meetings" are held in Iran every year and that the Iranian government "invites and hosts clergymen from all countries to spread the Islamic revolution."

Naturally, political talks are also reportedly held between these men of religion and Iranian government officials.

Kaplan left the ranks of the National View after visiting Iran and became a "communicator."

And what is the "communication" method?

Communication means the transmittal of the Islamic religion to humanity through prophets. The Hoja says that he will seize the government by this communication method just as the Prophet Muhammad used it to achieve eminence. He says that the government cannot be seized by the party method because the democratic system is a ploy staged by Zionism.

Party of God, Party of Satan

Hizbullah is the party of God. Hizbulseytan is the party of Satan. Apparently, there can be no party other than these two. Kaplan, who rose to the Deputy Chairmanship of Religious Affairs and who served as the Mufti of Adana for 15 years, learned after his trip to Iran that only these two parties exist in the Koran.

Cemalettin Hoja is going to knock down the secular state in Turkey just as Khomeyni knocked down the Shah of Iran through "communication."

And how will "communication" be implemented? Here is what Kaplan says:

Communication by Videotape

"Any legitimate means is acceptable for communication. As is known, in today's world communication is easier than in the past. While in the past communication could be carried out only by voice and writing, today our means of communication include audiocassettes, videocassettes, mass-circulation magazines and newspapers, radio and television. We are not in a position to utilize radio and television. Those means are not yet available to us. However, we can make maximum use of the others. The cassettes, in particular, are inexpensive and easy to maintain and to carry over long distances.

"One must always bring a recorder and a blank tape with him to the mosque or to the conference. Sometimes unexpected speeches are made; such speeches must always be recorded. They have a multiplying effect. One can always listen to them at home, during home discussions or during travel; moreover they can be

taken or sent away over long distances. A recorded speech may enable an individual or group of individuals to find the true path of Islam.

"Therefore, this—that is cassette work—is one of the principal duties of each Muslim and especially our societies. We must also pay attention to videocassettes. We must make use of that blessing as well. These are all blessings and gifts from our God."

In one of his books, Kaplan Hoja states that "making pictures is un-Islamic." On the other hand, he considers videocassettes a "blessing and gift of God."

Debate Over Party or Communication

Kaplan broke away from the National View completely in August 1983. On 13 August 1983, the followers of Cemalettin Kaplan distributed a pamphlet entitled "Is the Way to Government Through Parties or Communication?" at Barbaros mosque in Koln. The pamphlet insisted that the concept of party does not exist in Islam. During the distribution of the pamphlet incidents erupted in the mosque. Followers of the National View tried to block the distribution of the pamphlet. Later, Kaplan Hoja expanded the pamphlet and turned it into a booklet.

Here is an excerpt from the pamphlet:

"Is there any significant agony in partyism? Is there any suffering? In partyism, no one is supposed to get hurt, to be deported from his land or home or to be put in jail. Yet everyone is supposed to act like a 'mujahid' [holy warrior] and to deposit his vote in the ballot box every 4 or 5 years and someone is supposed to emerge from the box to lead the state of Islam. Is that how it is supposed to be? Can it be so easy? This violates the way of the Sunna [traditional or orthodox Muslim law]."

After this incident at Barbaros Mosque, Kaplan Hoja decided to "fully develop the communication method." The number of books, cassettes and videotapes rapidly surged.

Islamic Constitution by Hoja

Of course, it was also necessary to form an organization. In 1985, Cemalettin Kaplan founded the "Association of Islamic Congregations and Societies." Their goal: an Islamic state. Beside founding the organization, Kaplan drafted an Islamic constitution--though only "after reading 35 books." The Islamic constitution was immediately translated into several foreign languages and distributed.

Extensive work is under way to make cassettes. Sermons given by preachers in Iran are videotaped and sent to Koln. There, they are translated into Turkish and smuggled into Turkey. These are the sermons given by Iranian preachers. Then there are the speeches Cemalettin Kaplan delivers in mosques and societies. These are also videotaped by members of the Association of Islamic Congregations and Societies and smuggled into Turkey.

CIA Links With Hoja Suspected

You may ask: Where does the money come from for all this? The answer: From the congregation.

The congregation deposits money in the Hoja's personal accounts in banks. These monies "are used for work to establish an Islamic state." That is what the Hoja says. A major internal dispute erupted between Kaplan's followers and the National View Organization. Members of the National View "suspected that Kaplan is being used by the CIA."

Kaplan insists that "taking over the government through the party method is against the Sunna." Followers of National View, on the other hand, back the Prosperity Party [PP] in Turkey. There is a full divergence of views on this issue.

[Box p 13] Who Are the Founders of Islamic Society?

The founders of the Association of Islamic Congregations and Societies are: Cemalettin Kaplan (mufti), holder of Residence Permit No. 0002601 issued by the FRG, born in 1926; Ahmet Polat, born on 1 January 1955, holder of passport no. 831758; Selahattin Yazici, born in 1938, holder of passport no. 256203; Hasan Hayri Kilic, born on 16 December 1949, holder of driver license no. 6532177 in Bochum; Seyfettin Ozkan, holder of passport no. TRF-831759; Suleyman Aslan; Mustafa Ozcelik; Ibrahim Kaba; and Hilmi Elgunlu. Suleyman Aslan is the president of the organization. Hasan Hayri Kilic is the first secretary, Hasan Yildiz is the second secretary, Serafettin Ozkan is the recorder and Hasan Huseyin Kilic is the treasurer.

[23 Feb 87 p 13]

[Text] "Our goal is God, our leader is Holy Muhammad, our constitution is the Koran, our law is the Sharia' and our path is jihad. We will die as Islamic warriors on this path."

Almost all speeches and writings of Cemalettin Kaplan incorporate these views. In other words, you are either for the regime or against it.

"It is for this reason that the holy cities of Islam need to be reconquered. Damascus needs to be reconquered. Istanbul needs to be reconquered. Jerusalem needs to be reconquered. Finally, all cities and towns affiliated with these vital Islamic places need to be reconquered.

"Consequently, there is need for a conquering army as in the initial era of Islam. An army whose officers and men have rid their souls of fear for their lives and property and who have replaced it with valor and courage emanating from faith, ardor and ecstasy springing from the spirit of jihad and love for martyrdom and imminent victory. This is the hallmark of the conquering army. This is its relevance and source of authority. Every true Muslim, male or female, young or old, is a natural soldier of this army and God. Those who do not join this army and who stay behind will be eaten by wolves.

"This army, which is part of the tradition of the messenger of God, will overcome all obstacles with God's grace and help, will reconquer all the holy shrines and masjids [small mosques]—chiefly the Al-Aqsa Mosque [in Jerusalem]—and will make the Koran the constitution, the Shari'a the law and Islam the state."

Kaplan has been publishing books and magazines and delivering speeches since August 1983. Before August 1983, he drafted the Islamic constitution.

Kaplan Changes His Surname

Cemalettin Kaplan, the former Mufti of Adana and Deputy Chairman of Religious Affairs, no longer uses his surname "Kaplan." Instead he is using "Hocaoglu." He has suggested to members of his congregation that they too change their surnames.

He says: "We are descended from humans. We are not descended from animals to take names like Aslan [lion] or Kaplan [tiger]."

Kaplan, who served as a mufti, inspector, administrative director and deputy chairman at the Religious Affairs Chairmanship for several years, expresses the following views in conjunction with his current political mission:

"There are three idols in the world of evil. They are: the Pharaoh, Karun [name of a rich man in the Koran] and Balaam [Biblical figure]. The first of these is the despot, the second is the capitalist and the third is their supporter.

"In other words, the first has declared himself an idol by using political power and the second by using property ownership. The third has guarded the domains of these two idols by hiding behind religion."

Pharaoh, Karun, Balaam

And who are these Pharaohs, Karuns and Balaams? Once again, we learn the answers from the former Mufti of Adana:

"The Pharaoh declares himself an idol and becomes so infidel as to say 'I am your greatest rabbi' with the backing of the forces of the political regime and the state and by mobilizing the security forces. He does not recognize any god greater than himself and has no respect for freedom of thought. He hangs and kills everyone who opposes him. But despite all these acts he is able to find soothsayers, priests and so-called religious scholars who will support him. He can perpetuate his fascistic and terroristic methods with the help of these Balaams."

So this is the Pharaoh. What about Karun? Kaplan says the following about Karun:

"Karun is another evil mischief-maker. Wealth and money goad Karun just as political power motivates the Pharaoh. Karun was self-conceited and defied

God and his prophet. He gradually grew even more conceited, he did not care for and help the poor and the destitute, he became haughty, he idolized himself and he became wicked."

Who Are Today's Balaams?

We have learned about the Pharaoh and Karun. Now let us learn about Balaam, what he does and who the modern-day Balaams are.

"Balaam supported these two idols and did their bidding. He guarded their regime and rule; he became their servant because he feared the Pharaoh's political power and coveted Karun's wealth."

Having defined the Pharaoh, Karun and Balaam, Cemalettin Kaplan turns to their interpretation.

His interpretation is as follows:

"These are the three idols.

"Every Muslim must know that these three are not specific persons who have lived in specific periods of history. They represent three cursed mentalities which can be found at all times and periods.

"Thus, the Pharaoh is and represents the mentality which has abolished the Shari'a and replaced it with the law of idols using the power of the political regime and the state;

"Karun, on the other hand, is and represents the mentality which wants to replace the economic system of Islam with godless and infidel systems such as capitalism and communism, which has dragged the world into a struggle for bread and which has made people the slaves of their own bellies.

"As for Balaam, he represents the scholars and the court jesters who support these two godless mentalities and infidel systems and who consequently sell their religion to the world."

Balaams Who Do Not Respect the Shari'a

Then which one is more harmful? The Pharaoh, Karun or Balaam?

According to the Hoja, the Balaams do the most harm.

If you ask why, here is the answer:

"Among these three idols, the so-called hojas modeled after Balaam are the most wicked and harmful. The Koran characterizes hojas as 'defenders of the faith.' In other words, the function and duty of the hojas is to defend religion, to act as the guardians of Islam and to preserve the Shari'a. They are supposed to respect the Shari'a above anything else and to protect it even at the expense of their lives and property. Unfortunately, however, Balaam-

like hojas have often collaborated with the Pharaohs and the Karuns working for the destruction of religion and the abolishment of the Shari'a. Rather than standing up for the scholars who have defended the Shari'a, they have joined those who have replaced the Shari'a with godless and infidel systems.

'Like Dogs, Donkeys'

"The Araf Sura of the Koran likens these court jesters to dogs and the Juma Sura likens them to donkeys. Because these people are committing awesome treason and treachery. A hoja who refuses to support the Shari'a out of fear for his life and property, who is backed by the godless and infidel state, who reports the Muslims and hojas trying to promote God to the godless regime and who wants to impose silence by creating an atmosphere of terror is a Balaam in the true sense of the word.

"Balaam represents the mercenaries and guardians of the regime who have lowered themselves to become dogs and donkeys before the two idols and who have sold their religion to the world. We pray to God to protect true hojas from such circumstances. But there is only one way not to fall into such circumstances. And that is to stand on the side of the just and the rightful; to curse those who replace the Shari'a with the laws of the Pharaoh and Karun--at least to recognize them as enemies--and, finally, to state and to communicate courageously that the states they establish are godless and infidel states."

Cemalettin Hoja's tactics are aimed at initially influencing clergymen, demoralizing them and breaking them down. In his speeches and writings he constantly addresses them as "hoja effendis" and tries to influence and to indoctrinate them.

"You support either God or the idol."

"You either support the regime or oppose it."

"You are either a Kemalist or a Shari'aist."

"You either support the state or oppose it."

The Hoja's goal is to use mosques as political platforms just as Khomeyni did.

On this issue, he tells the hojas:

"They have deceived us to this day. They said: 'The hoja must not get involved in politics. The hojas must not infuse politics into the mosques.' They banished the hoja and the mosque from politics and political issues. But if the hoja cannot speak about the politics of Islam then who will?

"No, the hoja is also a man of politics. Similarly, the mosque is also a place of politics. Because politics is part of Islam. It is an inseparable part of Islam.

"Politics consists of a discourse about the form of the state and its method

of government and administration. In other words, politics means the government and administration of people. 'Siyaset' [politics] is an Arabic word and is derived from the verb 'sase.' The word 'seyis' [horse groom] is also derived from that verb. The person who manages horses is known as a 'seyis' while the person who manages people is known as a 'siyasetci' [politician]. Since the religion of Islam was created to manage people and their families and state and to ensure that they live like humans, this religion is one and the same as politics. Religion and state cannot be separated; such a thing cannot be contemplated. The state and politics of Islam must be taught in mosques just like religious rites such as prayers and fasting."

That is all very fine, Hoja Effendi, but why did you not say these things during the 15 years you were the Mufti of Adana?

The Hoja's defense on this issue is as follows:

"All hojas must be careful about the following point:

"We keep emphasizing in all of our speeches that our congregations should not deviate from the path of God and Islam. We keep telling them that it is the Holy Koran which will save them. This is how we explain Islam to them.

"Yes. That is what we said.

"For 50 to 60 years we used ambiguous terms. We thought that the congregation understands the true meaning of our words and that it knows that we are talking about the state and politics of Islam. But we realized that they have not understood anything. They have understood neither the state nor the politics of Islam."

Call on Preachers to Endorse Shari'a

On this point, Kaplan wants to force preachers and clergymen to make a choice.

You either support the Shari'a or oppose it. You are either a Kemalist or an Islamist. Because there is no other middle way.

The only true path is Islam. Therefore all clerics must decide where they stand. In other words, they must stand by the state of Shari'a.

The Hoja grows more ebullient before his congregation, and the more ebullient he grows the more he exaggerates.

In one speech, he issued the following challenge:

"We are brave, we have courage, we are strong and powerful. No one can knock us out. I dare anyone to come and try it. If we have mistakes, then let scholars and thinkers point them out to us.

"Let those who are controlling the Religious Affairs Chairmanship and the men of the system spell them out. I challenge them. Ideas cannot be killed and

the truth cannot be suppressed by the threat of arms. Some day all these may erupt and sweep away everything before them like a flood."

Kaplan reads everything that is written about him every day. He clips newspaper articles and pastes them on the walls of mosques. In his sermons he responds to these articles.

However, when he talks he confuses, say, Orsan Oymen with someone else. He says "Ugur Mumcu" instead of "Ugur Dundar" and vice versa.

Nation Deceived

He has printed his answers to articles about him published in Turkey and distributed them:

"Friends: As an organization we are neither enemies of the state nor traitors to our homeland. That country is ours. It is soaked with the blood of our Muslim ancestors. The nation is also ours. The soldiers are our sons. However, our nation has been deceived. The press does not know what it is doing or writing or who it is serving. The civil servants, the soldiers and even MIT [National Intelligence Organization] and the embassies do not know these facts. They are not aware that the Shari'a is God's law. Because Islamic law and order has not been explained to these citizens for 60 years. They were deprived of Islamic and religious knowledge. In a sense, these citizens are not to blame.

"We want to save them and ourselves from the precipice of hell. We are not against them. We are opposed to tyranny, injustice and lack of freedom. We are against the infidels who have idolized these mortals and who call and promote them as demigods. We are against the Kemalist movement which has divided the youth into camps and which has filled prisons with young people it labels as anarchists. We are against the mentality which has established a usurious system of exploitation and which has paralyzed commercial life. We are against those who open or permit the operation of nests of fornication and adultery. We are against movements which have abolished the Koran from the state and daily life under the guise of secularism and which have sacrificed freedoms in the name of Kemalism. Finally, we are and we will continue to be against these idolatrous regimes. Let the whole world know this; let all papers write about this. If we die or are killed we will become martyrs."

Roadmap to Heaven

As incredible as this may sound, Kaplan includes in page 105 of his book, "Communication and Method," a roadmap to heaven. According to this sketch, the path of the Shari'a leads directly to heaven. Side roads leading away from the path of the Shari'a end up in hell. According to the sketch, the Shari'a is a wide boulevard while the side streets leading away from it are Satan's paths. Anyone who strays from the path of the Shari'a into these side streets will end up in hell, while those who stay on the path of Shari'a will go to heaven. In order to go to heaven "it is sufficient to work to make the Koran the constitution and the Shari'a the law and to trust in God."

The target of Cemalettin Kaplan's roadmap to heaven and hell is once again the hojas—that is officials of the Religious Affairs Chairmanship.

Thus, the officials of the Religious Affairs Chairmanship will go directly to hell because they are affiliated with the secular state. Kaplan himself was bound for hell until he retired voluntarily in 1981. He apparently changed his mind about that trip after he visited Iran.

Now, as he has indicated on his roadmap, he will go directly to heaven.

Does Cemalettin Kaplan publish all these books on his own? Or are there circles who guide him or who write these books for him?

Since Kaplan is unable to speak proper Turkish outside religious topics, he must obviously have some helpers.

The Hoja has a plan of his own. Or he is faithfully implementing a plan that has been prepared for him. His initial goal is to influence clerics and to persuade them to dissociate themselves from the policies of the Religious Affairs Chairmanship. To that end, he has prepared a pamphlet known as "Communication to Religious Scholars." In this pamphlet he charges that "Turkey is ruled by idolatrous laws" and urges clerical officials to unite around the principle of a state based on the Shari'a. This, in fact, is the focus of all his talks.

The Hoja says: "We have before us two laws and two constitutions. One of them belongs to God and the other belongs to mortals. One is based on the infallible reasoning and the infinite power of God while the other consists of idolatrous laws drafted with ignorant and fanciful impulses."

According to the Hoja, God's laws are good because they were made by God, while the others are bad because they were made by humans. If God's constitution and laws are not obeyed, there will be suffering in hell after death.

The clerics must make a choice: "Either this or that."

There is no third choice.

You are on the side of either God or the idols.

What if the clerics encounter opposition in their efforts for a state based on the Shari'a?

The Hoja has an answer for that as well:

"Oh mortal one:

"You assumed the responsibility of communication a long time ago. In fact, you relied on that for your worldly living. Did you ever encounter difficulties in performing this duty? Were you ever the subject of gossip? Were you ever

persecuted and imprisoned by the police? Were you tortured? Was your property seized? Were you dismissed from your position and deprived of your income?

"If none of these happened to you, then you must sit and weep. Why? Because you did not perform your duty properly. You did not communicate God's word openly. You did not speak out the truth courageously. You did not annoy the demons, the idols and the representatives of the devil. Because you went along with them, you compromised with them, you made concessions to them and you did what they wanted you to do."

[24 Feb 87 p 7]

[Text] A Muslim is supposed to go through three stages to be admitted to the army of Islamic revolution.

1. "The school stage":

At this stage a Muslim is supposed to consolidate his knowledge of Islamic science. In other words, he is supposed to learn and understand that the Koran is the constitution and the Shari'a is the law. To that end, he is supposed to listen to and learn from the hojas.

2. "The monastic stage":

Having graduated from the first stage, a Muslim is supposed to embark on the "monastic stage." This means engaging in cultism. The Muslim is supposed to mature through cultism.

Then we get into the third stage.

3. "The barracks stage":

The "barracks stage" is apparently the armed phase of the revolution.

The Hoja shouts in mosques:

"In this age the Muslim must learn to pull the trigger." He says that the Muslim who goes through these three stages will go directly to heaven.

Since the roadmap to heaven has been drawn by Cemalettin Kaplan, that path surely must lead to heaven.

If anyone wants to leave the mosque for any reason while the Hoja is talking, he immediately stops him:

'Deserters Will Be Shot'

"Where are you going hoja? We are on the front. Do you know what they do to the soldier who deserts the front. They shoot him; they kill him."

If you ever try to move from your seat to go to the restroom you are in deep trouble, because instead of going to the restroom you may go to hell.

The Hoja sees himself as an agent of Muhammad the Prophet. In his own words, his work is the "continuation of the Prophet's mission."

He says that he is encountering the same repression that Muhammad encountered when he was preaching the Islamic religion.

The schooling stage, the monastic stage and the barracks stage. Followed by the Islamic revolution.

The Hoja says:

"The movement we are promoting and implementing as an organization is the movement of communication. It is the Koranic movement. It is a movement of conquest. There is a strong need for such a movement of conquest. Because the Islamic countries and nations are under occupation. They are occupied by the forces of godless imperialism. There is need for a reconquest.

"All the holy places must be conquered one by one. By God's help and grace all the cities of Anatolia, chiefly Istanbul, will be conquered for Islam.

'Tehran Does Not Need to Be Conquered'

"Our Lord will hopefully show us that day. Just as long as we use the means at our disposal and we do everything that is required of us.

"The holy cities of Islam need to be reconquered.

"Egypt needs to be conquered.

"Damascus needs to be conquered.

"Istanbul needs to be conquered.

"Jerusalem needs to be conquered.

"Tehran, of course, does not need to be conquered because it has been seized by the Islamic revolution."

The former mufti's remarks do not make much sense. I have been watching videotapes of Kaplan's videotapes. Frankly, what he says is not sensible.

For example, he says that Friday prayers are banned in Turkey. He says that mosques in Turkey are barricaded and that they are under occupation.

He says that anyone who says "there is reactionarism in Turkey" may "lose both his religion and his marriage."

He claims that an Islamic revolution may be mounted in Turkey more easily than in Iran. Why? Because, he replies, the Kemalists in Turkey are terrified of the grandeur of the Islamic revolution.

Therefore, he adds, Muslims have a single duty.

To give up their lives and property for this cause.

He says: "Life and property belong to God." He insists that God will take the life and property he has given when the time comes and that, however, if a Muslim sacrifices his life and property for the Islamic revolution he will go directly to heaven.

God Works on Commission

According to the Hoja, in a sense God works on "commission." He says that God both gives and takes lives. When taking lives he also sets aside room in heaven for his beloved subjects.

He says that God sets aside room in heaven only for those who sacrifice their lives and property for the Islamic revolution.

Otherwise, a Muslim may go directly to hell.

According to the Hoja, in order to avoid hell and to go to heaven, a Muslim must "keep his purse open." A Muslim must keep his purse open so that money can flow freely to Cemalettin Hoja's bank accounts. Apparently, Muslims are supposed to open their purses to Cemalettin Hoja's bank accounts for the sake of the Islamic revolution.

Bank Account Numbers

Millions of deutschemarks are transferred to Cemalettin Hoja from open purses.

Do you wish to know some account numbers?

Here they are:

Account number OSS 180405934 in the Rabobank in Holland.

He also has a bank account in the FRG. This, too, is a private account opened in the name of Cemalettin Kaplan:

Deutsche Bank, Koin branch, account number 37040044.

Why is all this money being sent to Cemalettin Kaplan's private account?

Do not ask about that.

Or, if you do, you may get the following answer:

"The Hoja is a representative of the Prophet who is the representative of God. If Muslims give their money directly to Cemalettin Kaplan, they will go to heaven. Therefore let everyone open his purse."

What about the monies collected in all mosques and demanded from all Muslims purportedly for the benefit of the mujahideen in Afghanistan? In whose account are those monies deposited?

They are deposited in the private account of Ahmet Polat, who until very recently was Kaplan's right-hand man.

Ahmet Polat.

Deutsche Bank, Koln, account number 2625275, Biz370 70060.

Propaganda on Videotape

The Hoja's propaganda strategy is as follows:

The Hoja speaks in mosques; he says anything that comes to his mind and provokes the people. These speeches are recorded on videotape and the cassettes are smuggled into Turkey. The speeches are also printed in the form of booklets and sent to Turkey.

This is how the "communications" reach their destination. Muslims in Turkey are thus prepared for jihad.

Then what?

Here is the plan the Hoja has in mind for the future:

"In 50,000 mosques, 50,000 hojas will rise" and that is when the revolution will begin. That is why Kaplan's primary objective is to influence the hojas or the clergy first. He has an obsession with the "hoja effendis." He wants to instigate them to demand in mosques that the Koran be made the constitution so that he may be able to smuggle cassette recordings into Turkey through these outlets just as Khomeyni did in Iran. He believes that this way the people will be prepared for the Islamic revolution.

The Hoja is literally walking on Khomeyni's path. Did not Khomeyni send audiotapes to Iran while he was in exile in France?

The Hoja is now doing the same thing.

Did not Khomeyni print his speeches in small booklets and send them Iran?

The Hoja is now doing the same thing. The booklets are printed and secretly smuggled into Turkey.

Copied From Khomeyni's Magazine

The Hoja's magazine, TEBLIG, is identical to KAYHAN, a magazine which began to be published in Iran after the Islamic revolution. The similarity between the

two publications is so evident that if the inscription under the masthead of KAYHAN says "Sovereignty belongs unconditionally to God," the same inscription appears under the masthead of TEBLIG.

TEBLIG carries the same verses and suras under its masthead as those carried by KAYHAN.

In other words "it is identical with the original."

Cemalettin Hoja says that he is opposed to the following systems, individuals and organizations:

Communism, capitalism, Kemalism, Zionism, Freemasonism, the Church, the Synagogue and pseudo-Muslims.

Cemalettin Kaplan calls on certain individuals and professional groups in Turkey and urges them to follow the path of God.

Letter to Kenan Evren

In his book entitled "Open Letters With the Status of Communications," Kaplan addresses his first letter to President Kenan Evren.

The letter begins as follows:

"Dear Kenan Evren:

"You have stated on several occasions that you're a Muslim and that your father and grandfather were preachers. Muslims rejoiced and were pleased perhaps because they wanted to see you that way."

Later on, Kaplan criticizes the President and says:

"A person who says that he believes in the existence and oneness of God is obliged to believe in four things. The first of these is the insuperability of God's powers and oneness. One of those powers is God's omniscience. What that means is that everything that has happened since creation and that will happen until eternity cannot remain concealed from God. Since the 20th century is somewhere between creation and eternity, in this century, too, nothing can remain concealed from God's knowledge. Nothing can remain outside his knowledge. The Almighty God who knows everything, all the time and everywhere down to its last detail, naturally knows about our century. When you say 'I believe in God' you automatically accept this fact.

"Therefore, the Almighty God who knows about our century could have revealed the laws we need today in the last book he delivered through his last prophet. He had adequate power and might to do that. And He has done that.

"Consequently, all the laws we need as humans have been promulgated by God and are written in all their glory, beauty and freshness in the Koran which you say you 'believe in.'"

God's Law and Constitution

According Cemalettin Hoja, mortals have made up constitutions and laws. On the other hand, the Koran is God's law. Who can enact laws better than those of God? Nobody.

The Hoja writes:

"In Islam's eyes there is no difference (in terms of mischief-making) between communism and capitalism or between the idolatry of the age of ignorance and the Ataturkist idolatry and Hinduism of the 20th century--even if they see large differences among themselves."

Cemalettin Hoja replies to Kenan Evren by quoting verses from the Koran. He also demands that the president reply to him in writing. He says: "We can only communicate and caution; only God can show the right way and pass judgement."

Letter Addressed to Universities

Cemalettin Hoja's second letter is entitled: "Open Letter With the Status of Communication to University Faculty Members."

The letter begins as follows:

"Oh University Teachers:

"You are witnesses in positions of science. You are the witnesses of God's existence, oneness and sovereignty."

Cemalettin Hoja asks the following questions to the faculty and provides his own answers:

"Question: Is the universe, that is the entire collection of living and lifeless objects, a creation of science?

"Answer: The answer cannot be 'no.' Because then one has to ignore the findings of sciences such as physics, chemistry and biology. Because these sciences study the science of the universe. If something is not a creation of science its science cannot be studied. Therefore the answer must be 'yes.'"

"Question: Is a scientific creation the result of the existence of science? In other words, does not science rule the universe?

"Answer: A scientific creation naturally receives its scientific characteristic from science. Anything other than that cannot be contemplated.

"Question: In which of the two categories should science be included: Essence or attribute?

"Answer: Science is an attribute. Because it is not self-existent. Its existence depends on the existence of something else, namely the one who makes

science. In other words, it depends on the existence of the scientist. In other words, the existence of science implies the existence of a scientist. If the universe is ruled by science then it is ruled by a scientist.

"Question: Then who is that scientist?

"Answer: The creator of the universe.

"Question: What is the name of the creator of the universe?

"Answer: It is 'God.' That creator has named himself thus in his book.

"In conclusion, it can be said using a cause-and-effect argument that the study of the universe leads us to science, science leads us to the scientist, and the scientist leads us to the existence of God."

'Your Science May Remain Shaky'

After this question-answer session, Cemalettin Kaplan addresses university faculty members as follows:

"This is your task.

"You can carry out this proof. This is a scientific problem. It is a problem of reasoning. You cannot teach science without studying the science of the natural world, that is the 'world of existence' we live in, without knowing its creator and owner and without acknowledging and proving the existence and oneness of God. You cannot be a teacher without doing these. Otherwise your science would be based on shaky foundations, and neither you nor your students would be satisfied. You would falter endlessly in this quandary.

"Therefore, do what is required by science and the profession of teaching and perform your principal duty of witnessing as the Koran demands."

[25 Feb 87 p 13]

[Text] Declaring that he has taken on the "responsibility of communication" on behalf of God just like the Holy Muhammad, the former Mufti of Adana, Cemalettin Hoja, wants all faculty members "to oppose Kemalism." Linking anarchy and terror directly to Kemalism he asks:

"Can anyone renounce the laws of God and support the laws of idols?

"Can the Koran be stopped from being the constitution? Can the state be stopped from becoming Islamic? Can they be replaced with constitutions based on Kemalism and polytheist and idolatrous states?

"Could science accept that?"

After asking these questions, Cemalettin Hoja asks faculty members "to defend the Shari'a even at the expense of their lives and property." He says: "Let the Koran be your source and the Prophet be your example and guide."

Your qiblah [direction of prayer] must be neither Washington nor Moscow nor Europe nor Cankaya.

He blatantly threatens faculty members who do not endorse the Shari'a system. He openly tries to scare them:

"You have only one recourse, only one way out. And that is repentance. You must repent in accordance with the proper procedures.

"It must be understood that not all sins require the same repentance. The form of repentance varies from sin to sin. The offense committed by people like you is very big and grave and borders on polytheism. It is the offense of destroying the constitution. It is the offense of supporting the abolishment of the Koran from state government. Finally, it is an offense which requires eternal death. It therefore requires a big repentance. You must immediately repent, beat yourselves and grieve deeply for what you have done."

Is that enough? No, it is not enough.

'Better Than Torment in Afterworld'

"You must declare that you are on the side of the Koran and the Shari'a. With your words and writings, you must try to make the Koran the constitution and Islam the state. You must defend the Shari'a and its laws with courage and persistence even at the expense of your life and property. You must not be afraid of anyone but God and you must serve no one but God.

"Perhaps this is difficult to do.

"But it is not more difficult than the torment, the terror and the suffering of the afterworld. Compared to that it is very easy. In any case, such actions cannot lead to anything more than death.

"But in the afterworld there is no death. One seeks death like a lifebuoy, but he cannot find it and he will never be able to find it. Because death has also died.

"Therefore, repent immediately. Hurry and repent. You may not live until tonight or tomorrow morning. Death may catch up with you and your mouth may be shut before you repent.

"You may ask for more time, but it may not be given.

"Everything may be over.

"You may want to return, but you may not be allowed. It is a journey without return, a path without deviations.

"Like the pharaohs, the tyrants, the Karuns and the Mustafa Kemals, you too will go. It is a certainty that you will go. Do not waste another day and

any more time. Offer the necessary repentance so that you can be with the prophets, the elders, the saints and the martyrs. Try not to be with the idols, on their side or in their place.

"This is a communication to you and it is the truth.

"If it has any falsities or mistakes, we expect your written answers. Please do not be angry at us. This is a requirement of our faith."

After this letter to faculty members, Kaplan addresses separately faculty members of the divinity schools. Quoting Koranic verses, the Hoja defines the Islamic constitution to the faculty of the divinity schools.

He says:

"Sovereignty, that is the power, authority and competence to promulgate laws, is limited to God and is his right. Furthermore, the rules and laws to which a Muslim nation must refer to in all its material and moral affairs pertaining to this world and the next are those prescribed by the Koran. All bodies and systems of laws other than those prescribed by the Koran are nothing but fanciful whims. They are laws of ignorance. They are the laws of idols. They amount to befriending and idolizing tyrants and serving them. That is polytheism and infidelism.

"Anyone who rules with laws other than those sent by God and his prophet rules by 'Tagut,' that is the laws of idols. Anyone who follows a path other than that prescribed by God and the Prophet follows the path of Tagut. Such persons cannot have any links to Islam. They forfeit their faith in God and become infidels. This cannot be interpreted in any other way.

"God does not permit any believer, male or female, to pursue paths other than His own. He has declared such people as deviants.

"God states explicitly that Muslims who do not cleanse themselves of their evils and shortcomings, who do not embrace the Prophet with a clean soul and who do not endorse the Prophet as the arbiter in all their affairs cannot be considered believers."

'State Is Part of Religion'

Cemalettin Hoja tells the faculty members of divinity schools that "Islam's decrees and laws cannot be broken into pieces." According to him, any Muslim who endorses parts of the Shari'a and rejects other parts must be considered a renegade.

The Hoja writes:

"The state is part of religion; it is an inseparable part of religion. The two are strongly bonded to each other like flesh and bone. One is worthless without the other. The state cannot be separated from religion just as matters of faith and the issues of prayer and fasting cannot be separated from

religion. No one has the right or the authority to separate the state from Islam and to alienate religion from the state, just as nobody has the right to abolish or to reject prayer or fasting."

Cemalettin Kaplan is a divinity school graduate. A 1966 graduate of the Ankara School of Divinity, he is now engaged in an argument with his former teachers.

He asks the questions and he provides the answers:

"What reasons are there to abolish the Shari'a from the state? One may offer one or more of the following arguments:

"a) The Koran contains no provisions related to state and government. It gives us the responsibility to make laws.

"b) The laws prescribed by the Koran are specific to the Arabian peninsula and the conditions of that time.

"c) The Koran does prescribe laws but they are inadequate. They cannot lead us to civilization. We can make better laws.

"d) A fourth argument is blatantly foolish: The Koran does prescribe laws and they are the best. But even though they are the best we are going to make our own laws with our own heads.

"e) The Koran does prescribe laws, but we want neither the Koran nor Islam. In fact we want to abolish them. We have already abolished them. We want to replace religion with Kemalism. That is why we eliminated religion from the state and all of its institutions.

"Four of these arguments would lead them to renounce their religion and to become infidels, would they not?

"Of course they would make them infidels. Meanwhile, the fifth argument cannot be explained with anything but insanity.

"Consequently, eliminating the Shari'a from the state and its institutions would lead a person to either infidelity or lunacy. Common sense dictates, however, that one should follow neither infidels nor lunatics."

In his communication addressed to the faculty members of divinity schools, Kaplan embarks on legal arguments.

Sovereignty belongs to whom? God or the nation?

"In effect, this is essence of the matter. This is where the solution of all the problems lies. Who has unconditional sovereignty?

"Is it the nation or is it God?

"Two entities: One represents the divine, while the other represents the servants of God.

"One is the office of godhead, the other is the office of servitude.

"Who has sovereignty? Which of them is the highest office and authority?

"In other words, who is the 'omnipotent authority'? Is it God or the nation? Which one has supremacy over the other? Which one is accountable and which one is not? In other words, whose words, declarations and communications are laws and which one is not accountable to anybody?

"Which one will not be asked questions about 'why did you do that' and will at the same time never err or make mistakes, whose laws will be justice itself and who will never have any flaws or deficiencies and who will be fair in the discharge of justice and distribution of responsibilities?

"This is what sovereignty is.

"Only the Almighty God can have such authority and competence. That is a consequence of His omnipotence and divinity. Then how can you take away such sovereignty and authority from God and give it to the nation which is composed of nothing more than mortals? How can you say 'sovereignty belongs unconditionally to the nation'? How can you thus give the nation supremacy over God? Or at least how can you put the nation in God's place? Is this not polytheism? Yes, this is polytheism. It is, in fact, the worst form of polytheism. It amounts to idolizing and worshipping the nation. This is the idol and idolatry of our times. It is also the gravest offense and tyranny which, in the words of the Koran, is unforgivable.

"Oh secularists:

"You take what is God's and give it to a nation of mortals. Then you say you are also Muslims. Even the crows would laugh at that.

'National Sovereignty is Foolish'

"From where did you get this audacity? Who, after all, is the nation? Is not the nation composed of individual people? Are not the individuals each accountable? Of course they are accountable. Then a nation made up of individuals is also accountable.

"Therefore, saying 'sovereignty belongs unconditionally to the nation' is deeply is erroneous and foolish.

"You eliminate God's laws from the government of state, you raise a mortal to position of God, you idolize him, you allow him to make laws and draft constitutions, you punish those who say 'the Koran is the constitution, Islam is the state' like criminals and murderers, you torture them in jails, you make Muslims spit blood and then you say you are Muslims.

"Who are you fooling? Is this not hypocrisy?"

The former Mufti of Adana addresses the faculty members of divinity schools as "the professors of monotheistic religion." He continues: "You will explain all these from university platforms. You will explain the issue of sovereignty very well. Just as we are explaining these to you as responsible persons, you, too, as responsible persons will explain them to your students who are the muftis and the preachers of tomorrow. You will say: 'Sovereignty belongs unconditionally to God, not to the nation.' To say 'it belongs to the nation' amounts to idolizing the nation, polytheism and idolatry. Those who say it will be excluded from monotheism, the faith and marriage."

Thus according to Cemalettin Hoja, to say 'sovereignty belongs unconditionally to the nation,' to believe in this democratic principle, to act on that principle and to vote is a sin. Anyone who acts this way will be excluded from the faith and, more importantly, "from marriage."

'Kemalists' Batteries Out'

The Hoja tells the faculty members of divinity schools:

"In Turkey, the Kemalists' batteries have run out. You can see it for yourselves. A few months ago they raised a noisy clamor about reactionarism. Now they are out of breath and whispering to each other:

"What are we doing? We must be careful about certain concepts. One of these is the term 'reactionarism.' If we keep talking about reactionarism, it might really come. These people may realize that what we call reactionarism is the Shari'a, they might stuff our mouths to silence us, knock out our teeth and get rid of us. Then we may be left without Ataturk and without an idol. Everything may collapse. Therefore, let us keep silent, let the reactionaries say and write what they like. Let us not raise our voice.

"The system of idols will certainly be knocked down."

The "communications" Cemalettin Hoja sends by registered mail on behalf of God do not end there. How could they? He has communications to ambassadors, the youth and all Muslim persons.

I ask him before his congregation in the Eyup Sultan Mosque in Bochum:

"Hoja, what is your legal status? I understand that you asked for political asylum from the FRG through Murat Bayrak and that your request was approved. Now are you a Heimatlos ['homeless' in German]?"

He replies:

"Here, the Germans call me a 'Theolog.'"

"Heimatlos" means "stateless" and "Theolog" means religious scholar. The Hoja, who does not even know what these words mean, advises ambassadors and consuls as follows:

"Oh the representatives of a Muslim nation and regime:

"Now, it is your turn.

"You are either the representatives of a Muslim nation or the guardians of an un-Islamic regime.

"Assuming that you and we accept the former description to be true, I have certain suggestions to communicate to you.

"a) You must live like the Muslims you represent. You must believe in, worship and obey God like they do; you must live by their moral principles, and you must dress like them. Moreover, like them, you must accept that 'sovereignty belongs unconditionally to God and not to the nation' and must work to make the Koran the constitution, the Shari'a the law and Islam the state.

"b) You must not sin. You must not drink alcoholic beverages, gamble or permit the violation of your or your wives' honor.

"c) You must treat Muslims with respect; you must not preoccupy yourselves with their beards and baggy pants; and you must not bar your wives or daughters from wearing headcovers and veils. You must not report them to the regime of idols because they respect the laws of the Shariah and oppose the laws of mortals. You cannot and must not threaten Muslims with remarks like 'your passport may be revoked.' Moreover, you must congratulate and commend them. Why?

"Because they are the lords and you are their representatives and servants. They are Muslims, and you are Muslims. They are listening to their consciences and are fulfilling the requirements of their faith and religion. You represent them in foreign countries and reflect the beliefs, rituals, culture, history, individuality, character, customs and traditions of the Muslim people. Foreigners will come to know these Muslim people you represent and are affiliated with by looking at you and seeing your behavior.

"Therefore, your mistakes and your erroneous acts—any behavior that is not compatible with Islam—will cost you and the nation a lot. It would amount to treason against the nation. You cannot pay for such an offense. You cannot pay for it in this world or the next."

Cemalettin Hoja then admonishes the ambassadors and the consuls:

Disease of 'Nifak'

He says:

"Oh ambassadors and consuls:

"You are serving as the guardians of idolatrous laws and a 'satanic' regime which has no relation to Islam, religion or faith and which, moreover, is intent on destroying religion and faith. This deprives you from religion and

faith, alienates you from the people and makes you the servants and guardians of a nation of mortals. If that is the case, then you are not authorized to represent a Muslim nation or you have lost the authority to do that.

"Since you are acting as the guardians of an un-Islamic regime, you are suffering from a serious disease which may kill. This disease is known as 'nifak [duplicity].'

"Because nifak is a disease which is different inside and outside and is very difficult to cure. When you see Muslims, you say:

"'We too are Muslims. We too have faith. But we are not proponents of the Shari'a. The Shari'a means reactionism. Only reactionaries and fanatics can defend the Shari'a.' When you see officials of the regime you guard, that is the Kemalists, you say:

"'We are on your side and loyal to the regime like yourself. We are loyal to Ataturk and we do not allow any transgressions against the regime. Sometimes we say we are Muslims but we do not forget to tell Muslims and reactionaries that we are not proponents of the Shari'a. Yes, we are also Kemalists and loyal to the reforms and principles of Mustafa Kemal and we defend those principles.' This is the diagnosis of the disease you are suffering from.

"The disease of nifak, tagut or more plainly, idolatry. A horrible, eternal and hellish disease."

The Hoja recommends that ambassadors and consuls "accept that sovereignty belongs unconditionally to God in order to be cured." He asks ambassadors and consuls to reply to him after consulting with divinity school faculty. He tells ambassadors and consuls:

"You can do that, but you cannot single out those who issue these communications, intimidate them with withholding passports and other papers and betray them to the regime. You have no right to do that. That would compound sin upon sin. You would be crushed under the weight of those sins."

[27 Feb 87 p 13]

[Text] Cemalettin Kaplan who "voluntarily stepped down" as the Mufti of Adana in 1981 says that he was sent to the FRG by Professor Necmettin Erbakan, the leader of the NSP which was shut down by the 12 September administration.

For what purpose?

That is quite interesting. Cemalettin Kaplan's identity card reads:

"Guidance and Fatwa [religious legal opinion] Leader of the National View Organizations of Europe."

With this title, Kaplan published several articles in the press organs of the Islamic movement known as "National View."

He published his articles in HICRET which airs the views of the National View Organizations of Europe on issues such as the Islamic constitution and Islamic government.

When I asked Kaplan in the Eyup Sultan Mosque in Bochum who had drafted the "Islamic constitution," he replied:

"I wrote it after reading 35 books."

After reading reading 35 books, he "learned"--in his own words--how to write the constitution.

Having "learned" how to do it, he wrote the Islamic constitution. But, he says, he did not publish it immediately.

He waited.

The constitution was first published in HICRET for open discussion.

However, no responses were received.

When that happened, the constitution was printed as a separate publication.

Now, the "Islamic constitution" is circulated from hand to hand. In fact, it has been printed for a third time. It is published virtually in every language.

In his communications, Cemalettin Hoja states that "the Koran will be the constitution and that constitutions and laws written by mortals can have no validity in the presence of God's constitution.

Apparently only he is authorized to write a constitution.

After reading 35 books.

Now let us examine this famous "Islamic constitution."

Article 1:

"The state shall be called 'the Islamic state.'"

Article 2:

"The form of administration of the state shall be Islam."

Article 3:

"The Islamic religion shall be the basis of all political, social, culgural, legal, economic and other structures and institutions of the state."

Article 4:

"Sovereignty belongs unconditionally to God. The head of state shall discharge this sovereignty in accordance with Islamic laws and on behalf of God."

Where will the capital of the state be located? What will its official language be?

For the moment, these issues remain uncertain.

Article 8:

"The capital of the state shall be (blank)."

The blank space will be filled in when the Islamic state is established. At the moment it is not very clear whether that capital will be Tehran or some other city.

Article 9:

"The official language of the state shall be (blank). The Koran shall be its writ. Because Arabic is the language of the Koran and the Sunna, its teaching in all schools shall be mandatory."

Once again the blank space will be filled in in the future. The official language will perhaps be Arabic or Farsi.

Article 10:

"The state shall base its acts on the traditions of the Sunni sect. All sects incorporated in the Islamic religion shall conduct their education, teaching and worship as required by their sectarian beliefs and under the supervision of the state."

Article 11 states that "no exceptions shall be made in the application of Islamic rules to all Muslims." The same article says that non-Muslims shall be free to practice their own faith and worship.

Article 13 says:

"The primary source of religious law shall be the book, the Sunna, legal concurrence [icma] and syllogism [kiyas]. Nothing else can be the source of religious law. "

The second part of the constitution contains provisions regarding basic rights and freedoms. The Hoja has obviously copied these provisions from Western constitutions.

With one proviso:

He has, for example, replaced all references to "all persons" with "all Muslims."

The third part of the constitution is important, because "social rules" are in this segment.

Generation Imbued With Ideal of Islam

Article 28:

"The family is the foundation of Islamic society. The state shall be responsible for taking measures which ease the formation of families, which protect the sanctity of the family and which preserve family relations."

Article 32:

"Education and training shall be free and shall be practiced in a manner compatible with Islamic culture and history, customs and traditions, beliefs and rituals and law and morality. The training of moral, virtuous, knowledgeable, meritorious and hard-working generations imbued with Islamic ideals shall be one of the primary responsibilities of the state."

What will be calendar system of the state?

The constitution has the following provision on this issue:

Article 38:

"The beginning of the calendar of the Islamic state shall be the date of the migration of the Prophet to Mecca. Both lunar and solar calendars shall be acceptable. However, government offices shall operate on the basis of the solar calendar."

Article 39 is also important:

"Friday shall be the official day of rest of the week. There shall be a 2-day holiday for Ramadan and a 3-day holiday for the Festival of Sacrifice ['Id al-Adha] each year."

Now we come to the fourth part on "family regulations."

Article 40:

"The primary responsibility of the woman is motherhood and the management of the home; the woman is a trust and an honor that must be protected."

This is a general rule. Now let us go into the particulars.

Women Shall Be Separated From Men

Article 41:

"The separation of women from men is fundamentally important. Women cannot assemble with men except for cases permitted by the Shari'a, such as shopping, and the Haj."

Article 42:

"Rights accorded to men shall be accorded to women. However, rights reserved for women and men by religious arguments in the Shari'a are excepted. Women shall have the right to engage in trade, agriculture and crafts. They shall be able to enter into agreements and contract on their own or in partnership with others."

These two articles on women written by the Hoja are not at all consistent with each other. While Article 41 states that women cannot participate in any meetings except in shopping and the Haj, Article 42 refers to the women's right to engage in trade, agriculture and crafts.

How will these be done? Is a woman going to engage in crafts through men? What will happen?

It is not very clear.

"Economic regulations" are covered in the fifth part. Let us examine some articles of this segment.

Article 47:

"Only God can own property. God has appointed humans, depending on their position, as his agents; that is how man has acquired the right to own property. Consequently, it is God who issues permission to own property. It is with this special right that the right of property ownership has come about."

Article 48:

"The state shall guarantee that the basic needs of each individual are met, and, to the extent that it is possible, it shall provide each individual with means to meet needs that are beyond basic."

How will the Islamic state build its economic system?

Kaplan offers a solution to this problem on behalf of God and the Prophet. After all, having read 35 books it should not be that difficult.

Interest-free Borrowing System

Article 49:

"a) Fulfillment of basic needs: [The state] shall provide everyone with the means necessary to acquire housing, food, clothing, health, medical treatment, education and to form families.

"b) To ensure full employment, the state shall provide working conditions and opportunities to everyone. The state shall help those who can work but who do not have means of transportation to go to work. This assistance must be in form of interest-free loans and other legitimate methods.

"c) The state must not allow the concentration of wealth in the hands of certain individuals or groups if that is detrimental to society. Conversely, the state must not assume the position of a large employer to the detriment of society."

The articles continue with such "advisory rulings." Article 50 specifies the foundations on which the economic system of Islam is based.

Article 50:

"The economic system of the Islamic state shall be based on three well and correctly-planned sectors: the public sector, the assistance institutions and the private sector."

In other words, the "economic system of Islam" will be based on the following three sectors:

1. The public sector.
2. The private sector.
3. The assistance institutions.

Now let us learn what the public sector will do:

"The public sector is made up of publicly-owned and state-controlled and state-managed institutions which the private sector is unable to build such as heavy industry plants, industrial infrastructure facilities, foreign trade facilities, large mines, banks, energy generation plants, dams, large water distribution networks, radio and television services, postal, telegraph and telephone services, airlines, maritime services and similar other agencies."

The Hoja says that he initiated the "communication" movement "to make the Koran the constitution." He quotes verses from the Koran on videotapes.

Can he not find any verses in the Koran stating that radio and television, postal, telegraph and telephone services and airlines should be owned and controlled by the state?

Evidently, he cannot find any such verses. Otherwise, he would issue a "communication" on that issue.

Assistance Institutions

What are the "assistance institutions"? Apparently they are institutions like the "Fak-Fuk-Fon [Fund to Encourage Social Solidarity and Mutual Aid]."

"Assistance and similar institutions encompass assistance establishments and organizations established in cities and villages in accordance with Islamic principles for the purpose of production and distribution."

What is an "institution"? What is an "establishment"? What is an "organization"? What is "assistance and similar"?

None of these are very clear. These will all be clarified after the Islamic revolution.

We will learn all these when Cemalettin Hoja launches his Islamic revolution in the name of God and the Prophet.

What about the "private sector"?

The private sector is defined as follows:

"The private sector shall engage in activities which complement the economic activities of the public sector and the assistance institutions such as agriculture, livestock breeding, industry, trade and general services."

What about banking?

It does not exist.

What about energy generation?

That does not exist either.

Mines?

That does not exist at all.

Foreign trade?

How can that be possible? Turning over foreign trade to the private sector would violate the principles of the Shari'a.

Those Who Harm Economic Development

That cannot happen.

What about dams and water distribution networks?

Those matters are within the jurisdiction of the Islamic state. The private sector cannot allowed to build dams.

Because that is against the provisions of the Shari'a.

The Islamic constitution also contains a general rule for these three sectors. The general rule is as follows:

"The right of property ownerships in these three sectors shall be protected by the laws of the Islamic state provided that the said right conforms with the other articles of this section, does not overstep the bounds of Islamic laws, contributes to the economic development and growth of the country and does not cause harm and damage to society."

What if the private sector does not contribute to "the economic development and growth of the country"?

What if it causes "harm and damage to society"?

Then, apparently, the private sector will no longer enjoy the guarantees offered by the laws.

In other words, when that happens, the private sector will be Islamized—that is nationalized—in the name of God and the Prophet.

The sixth part of the constitution is on "taxes."

Article 60:

"Zakat [tax to help the poor] shall be collected from Muslims. Zakat shall be collected on property deemed to be taxable by the Shari'a such as cash, goods of trade, livestock and grains."

What about the "zimmi"?

"Zimmi" means the Christian and Jewish subjects of the Islamic state.

"A jizya [capitation tax] shall be collected from adult zimmi men who can pay. No jizya shall be collected from their women and children."

Booty From Infidels

Where will the state revenues come from?

The Hoja has a solution for this problem as well.

Article 65:

"The permanent revenues of the Treasury shall be the zakat consisting of one-fifth of all the booty, jizya, tributes, tithes and treasures seized from infidels without war. These goods shall always be taken regardless of need."

The article on worker-employer relations is as follows:

Article 69:

"Relations and agreements between workers and employers shall be organized in a fair manner which complies with Islamic laws.

"In the event of disputes between workers and employers, a proper wage shall be determined. If the dispute is over issues other than wages a reconciliation shall be reached in accordance with the laws of the Shari'a.

"Those employed by individuals and corporations have the same rights and responsibilities as state employees."

That is all. There is no room for DISK [Confederation of Revolutionary Worker Unions] or Turk-Is [Turkish Confederation of Labor] or TUSIAD [Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association] or TISK [Turkish Confederation of Employer Unions].

There is room only for Islam.

What about the production of cigarettes and alcoholic beverages?

Those are completely banned.

Article 76:

"The state and individuals cannot manufacture or build laboratories to manufacture substances which are deemed sinful by the Shari'a and which harm the nation and the state."

What about health services?

"Health services shall be free..."

They shall be free but... There is a big "but":

"...but no one can be barred from retaining a doctor for fees or from selling medicine."

In other words opening private clinics and pharmacies is permitted.

Islam probably has a rule about that as well.

Currency Unit: Something Else

What will the currency unit be?

Article 79:

"The state shall issue special currency and shall not link this currency to any foreign currency."

Followed by Article 80:

"The state's money shall be minted and unminted gold and silver. No other substance can be used for currency."

"Cannot be used" but... This one also has a "but":

"...the state may issue something else equivalent to and covered by the gold and silver in the Treasury."

What does "something else" mean?

The issuance of paper money is banned. That we understand. Then what does "something else" in lieu of paper money mean?

The answer is provided by the same article:

"The state can issue copper, bronze, paper and other types of money. If any one of these is equivalent in value to gold and silver the state can coin it as money."

Evidently, the Hoja is thoroughly confused about these matters.

Banks, Interest Banned

However, the Hoja's views on banking are not so confused. They are very clear and explicit.

Article 81:

"Banks shall be categorically banned. The state shall own banks but shall not charge interest. Such banks shall operate as agencies of the Treasury. They shall lend money and facilitate financial and cash transactions in accordance with the provisions of the Shari'a."

Interest is banned. Because interest is banned, banks are also banned. Only one bank is allowed: Apparently a bank like the Central Bank. But will it be called the "Islamic bank," the "Bank of Muhammad" or the "Bank of Khomeyni"?

These matters, too, are not very clear.

The seventh part of the constitution is on "training and educational policy."

Article 83:

"The program to be implemented in training and education must be based on the Islamic faith."

Consider Article 90:

"Private schools shall not be permitted until Islamic culture is fully established in the country."

The part on "state organs and the state presidency" is of course the most interesting.

Article 110:

"The state shall be headed by the head of state. The head of state may be given titles such as 'imam,' 'caliph' and 'exemplary ruler.'"

In performing his duties, the head of state shall follow the "council method."

Should there not be a "council" to have a "council method"?

Of course there should be.

The eleventh part of the constitution concerns the "Assembly of Council."

"The assembly which represents all Muslims and which consists of individuals with whom the head of state must consult shall be known as the Council. Another name for the Assembly of Council is 'Assembly of Opinion.'"

Copied From Iranian Constitution

Now let us look at Article 69 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran. This article, too, envisages the formation of a "National Assembly of Council."

Let us compare Kaplan Hoja's Islamic constitution with the Iranian Constitution article by article.

Article 71 of the Iranian Constitution:

"The National Assembly of Council can enact laws on all issues within the framework set by the Constitution."

Article 138 of the Kaplan constitution:

"The Assembly of Council can enact laws in all matters within the framework set by law."

Article 72 of the Iranian Constitution:

"The National Assembly of Council cannot enact laws which violate the Constitution or the principles and the provisions of the official religion of the country."

Article 139 of the Kaplan constitution:

"The Assembly of Council cannot make decisions which violate the Constitution or the principles and provisions of the Sunni sect, the official religion of the country."

Article 73 of the Iranian Constitution:

"The National Assembly of Council shall have the authority to interpret laws. The sense of this article shall not prevent judges from interpreting the law to reveal justice."

Article 140 of the Kaplan constitution:

"The Assembly of Council shall have the authority to interpret laws. The sense of this article shall not prevent judges from interpreting the law to reveal justice."

Article 74 of the Iranian Constitution:

"Draft laws shall be submitted to the Assembly after being approved by the Council of Ministers. Draft laws may be discussed by the National Assembly of Council if sponsored by at least 15 deputies."

Article 141 of the Kaplan constitution:

"Draft laws may be submitted to the Assembly after being approved by the Council of Ministers and may be sponsored by Assembly deputies."

Article 76 of the Iranian Constitution:

"The National Assembly of Council shall be empowered to examine and to oversee all the problems of the country."

Article 142 of the Kaplan constitution:

"The Assembly of Council shall be empowered to examine and to oversee all the problems of the country."

Article 79 of the Iranian Constitution:

"The declaration of martial law shall be prohibited. In the event of war and other similar emergency situations, the government may impose restrictions with the consent of the National Assembly of Council."

Article 143 of the Kaplan constitution:

"The declaration of martial law shall be prohibited. In the event of war and other similar circumstances, the government may impose necessary restrictions with the consent of the Assembly of Council."

[28 Feb 87 p 13]

[Text] It is evident that the document Cemalettin Hoja has published as the "Islamic constitution" is based on the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

If Article 91 of the Iranian Constitution envisages the establishment of a "Council for the Protection of the Constitution," Cemalettin Hoja also establishes the same body.

Let us compare.

Article 91 of the Iranian Constitution:

"A Council for the Protection of the Constitution shall be organized as specified below to ensure that the decisions of the National Assembly of Council do not conflict with the Constitution and Islamic laws and to protect Islamic laws and the Constitution."

Article 150 of the plagiarist Kaplan Hoja's constitution reads as follows:

"A Council for the Protection of the Constitution shall be organized as specified below to ensure that the decisions of the Assembly of Council do not conflict with the Constitution and Islamic laws and to protect Islamic laws and the Constitution."

Article 99 of the Iranian Constitution:

"The Council for the Protection of the Constitution shall have the responsibility to oversee the election of the President of the Republic and members of the National Assembly of Council and to call for direct public referendums."

Reference to 'National' Omitted

Article 154 of the plagiarist Kaplan Hoja's constitution reads as follows:

"The Council for the Protection of the Constitution shall have the responsibility to oversee the election of the head of state and members of the Assembly of Council."

As is seen, there is a small difference between the Iranian Constitution and the Hoja's constitution.

The difference is that the term "Assembly" in the Iranian Constitution is preceded by the term "National."

Kaplan Hoja insists on omitting the term "National" from references to the "Assembly."

In addition, the Iranian Constitution envisages a "President of the Republic" while Kaplan Hoja refers to a "head of state."

The Iranian Constitution consists of 175 articles. Article 175 of that constitution is entitled "Mass Communication Media."

The constitution of the plagiarist Hoja also consists of 175 articles, and his Article 175 is virtually identical to Article 175 of the Iranian Constitution.

When you place the two constitutions side by side you realize that Cemalettin Kaplan "fell in love with the Iranian revolution even as he was the Guidance and Fatwa Leader of the National View Organizations of Europe."

Hoja Changes After Visiting Iran

The Hoja openly says it:

"During the Iranian new year season, they invite people for meetings. They invite three to five people from each organization. When we were serving with the National View they found it appropriate to include us in their five-man delegation. That is how we went [to Iran]."

The Hoja went to Iran and met with the leading officials of the Iranian Islamic revolution.

He says he stayed in Iran for 15 days.

That is when the Hoja changed. That modest Hoja stopped being a Kaplan [tiger] and turned into a lion.

After all, launching an Islamic revolution is no easy task.

The leaders of the Islamic revolution in Iran invite selected clergymen, imams and muftis to Iran.

They are fully determined to "export their revolution."

Iran hosts the students and clergymen selected from all corners of the world in Tehran and Qum.

The publication HAWZEH ELMICH published by the Iranian government in Qum says that in 1986 alone 3,500 Afghans, 2,800 Iraqis and about 100 to 200 Turks went to Iran for religious education.

Iranian journalist Amr Tahari writes in his newly published book "Holy Terror" that in 1985 a total of 1,700 people from various Islamic countries attended religious schools known as "summer courses."

The "export of revolution" does not end with these scholarships offered to students and tours for imams and hojas. The newspaper KAYHAN, which has an 800,000-copy Turkish edition, is circulated in Turkey and northern Cyprus and among expatriate Turks in Europe. The magazine ISLAMIN CAGRISI is another publication handed out in Turkish mosques in Europe. This magazine is also published by the Iranian government.

Kaplan is a faithful emulator of Khomeyni in everything ranging from his constitution to his communications, from his videocassettes to his style and from his mode of dress to his manner of speech.

He may be successful or unsuccessful, but that is what he is doing.

Like the spokesmen of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Cemalettin Hoja has chosen as his primary target of attack Kemalism and Kemal Ataturk who founded this republic.

Hoja Advised on Tactics

Somebody must be advising the Hoja on his tactics.

This "primitively clever" Hoja, who has been described by Necmettin Erbakan and his circle as "child-minded," does not at all give the impression of being an inspiring leader.

All clergymen who preach in mosques speak well on religious matters.

But is the ability to speak on religious matters enough for leadership?

No it is not.

Indeed, within this same circle there are people who are better equipped for "leadership." For example, Ahmet Kutahyali (I believe his surname is not his real name) whom I met in the Ayasofya Mosque in Zaandam, Holland, is much more capable and cultured than the Hoja.

While serving as a teacher in Sakarya, Ahmet Kutahyali was convicted of slandering Ataturk. Later he went to Saudi Arabia for religious education. Then he made several trips to Iran.

He says: "Go ahead and write. Write in the caption of the picture that I am an admirer of the Iranian revolution."

Ahmet Kutahyali is also the same person who said: "Write in the caption: 'An infidel and a Muslim.'"

He is not the leader of any organization, yet it is obvious that he is respected in that circle.

When he enters a room, everyone stands up.

He signs to the congregation to sit with a movement of his hand.

The imam does not want to speak before Kutahyali comes. The imam, who talks in pure Turkish, shuts up when Kutahyali arrives.

Silence When Kutahyali Arrives

Now it is Kutahyali's turn to speak. Everyone falls silent when he begins talking.

He says: "The man who does not surrender himself to God will have difficulty in understanding what we are saying."

He adds: "How much of your money has been given to Islam?"

I ask Kutahyali about divisions among Muslims:

"There is only one God, one Koran and one Prophet. Then what is the purpose of Suleymanism, National View, Nurism, Khomeyniism?"

His response is clear and concise:

"The internal problems of Muslims are not any of your concern."

When I say I am a secularist, he says:

"Then you are an infidel."

He adds: "One must surrender himself to God in order to understand these issues."

Kutahyali speaks Turkish very well. He is very comfortable when defending his views.

Secularism is Infidelism

He says: "Secularism is infidelism. It is simply another religion."

I say: "Fine. What do you think about mandatory religious education?"

He replies: "[Secularism] is a religion which incorporates Mustafa Kemal and democracy and whose goal is to train good citizens. It is not surprising that it is helped by both the Rabita [World Muslim League] and America. Even if there are minor similarities between such a religion and God's religion, there are very big fundamental differences between the two."

I say: "We also oppose these religious education classes."

He replies: "You oppose religious classes because you are a follower of the religion known as secularism. We oppose them because they do not comply with the Islamic Shari'a principles. In reality, you and we have nothing in common."

I ask him if he sees any difference among those who introduced constitutionally-mandated religious classes and those who opposed them.

Kutahyali sees no difference between the two groups. He says:

"They are humanist systems. Systems which are not based on God's order will naturally have such internal problems and will not have any absolute rules. They are all humanist systems."

I ask him: "If there is only one Islam, what is the purpose of Suleymanism, Nurism and the National View?"

Kutahyali replies:

"These are not fundamental or basic problems. They are all my brothers. These are minor problems."

Religious Affairs Paralyzed

"What about the Religious Affairs Chairmanship?"

"The circumstances at the Religious Affairs Chairmanship are different. The difference is as follows: There are some conscientious Muslims at the Religious Affairs Chairmanship. In other words, these people believe in the Koran and the Sunna and sincerely want the establishment of a system based on them. In their personal behavior they observe the injunctions of the Shari'a to the letter. But because their hands are tied and they are barred from speaking out by elements of the existing regime, this is all they can do. We feel sorry for them. We try to help them. We understand their predicament. These people are our brothers."

He cannot help continuing:

"Why are those who have made religious education mandatory afraid of headcovers?"

He provides his own answer:

"You know better how they think. There is no sense in hearing these issues from us separately."

I ask: "Why do you not air these views through a political party in Turkey?"

He replies: "That was tried, but it did not work. As you very well know, once they blow a whistle everything stops."

I say: "Then do not allow them to blow any whistles."

He responds: "Powerful means and a very strong extraparty system are needed to do that."

Then how will "Islamic reformation [inkilap]" take place?

I ask: "How will Islamic reformation take place in Turkey?"

Kutahyali is a thousand times smarter than Kaplan Hoja:

"How did it take place in Iran?"

"Through a revolution."

"But the world did not understand it. Hopefully, the one in Turkey will also go unnoticed."

"How will that be?"

'Human Mind Cannot Do It'

"That is God's prerogative. There are hundreds of ways of doing it. The fundamental principles cannot deviate from the Koran and the Sunna. If that happens then God will not help. Had humans been capable of realizing this, America's CIA and Russia's KGB would not have allowed the Islamic revolution to come to fruition."

"There is a movement known as Turkish-Islamic synthesis. Idealist [Ulkucu] circles have been speaking about such a synthesis. Can there be such a synthesis?"

"Obviously, Islam is a whole. Islam needs neither Turks nor the ideas it can get from them. If Islam has millions of problems and borrows another one from another system, then that is not Islam. Islam is a system which does not compromise on any issue and which does not make the slightest concession from its cause."

'Muslims Must Be Radicals'

He continues: "Islam is not the property of individuals to be able to come to a compromise on any issue. This is God's system. A compromise between God and satanic systems is obviously out of the question. Consequently, a Muslim has to be what you call a radical. Naturally, he must surrender everything he has to God--his ideas, beliefs, religion, way of life and state. Therefore, he will have to refuse any compromise regardless of whether he wants it or not."

"In other words, you are saying that a synthesis is not possible."

"It cannot happen. It is impossible. Nor a synthesis is possible with the Turkish Republic or secularism or democracy."

"What about with Saudi Arabia?"

"Nor with such systems."

Kutahyali says: "The entire world is God's world. A person may have been born in a certain location. That should not raise any obligation to belong to the state or the race at that location."

"Man is the caliph on earth. He is responsible for earth. But that should be organized by regions, classes and links."

"Did the Iranian revolution have an effect on the world?"

Kutahyali's response:

"Of course it did. The events in Afghanistan and Lebanon largely derived their strength from the Iranian revolution. They derived at least moral strength."

"Is Iran's Islamic reformation exporting revolution?"

'Iran's Courageous Policy'

"Iran is exporting its revolution without trying to conceal it. They are not afraid. They are afraid of neither the United States nor the Soviet Union. They are pursuing a courageous policy."

"For example, what are they saying?"

"They are saying: 'Our revolution is universal and global.'"

"That is what the Soviets have been saying."

"They may say it. But what have they been able to do? Of course, they too want to spread their revolution around the globe."

"I asked this question from a standpoint of internationalism."

"The structure of the Iranian revolution is very different. Socialism and communism have been tried for years and have lost their potency. However, an Islamic state has not emerged for hundreds of years. It is important from that perspective."

"Naturally, it is an important event."

"Iran has declared openly that it is not trying to spread a system of government but the Islamic order across the entire world. It says that it will support any movement that is Islamic. There is nothing secret about this."

"It is very obvious that they are providing support."

"Therefore, it has to air Turkish broadcasts on its radio and television."

Iranian Publications at Every Door in Turkey

Here he pauses:

"Unfortunately, there are no television broadcasts at the moment. I say 'unfortunately' as a person. Because personally I like the Islamic revolution as a Muslim. It disseminates its views on the radio, through magazines and newspapers in more than 20 languages including Turkish. Naturally, it will want to establish some relations with all Muslims. If it had the means it would place a magazine at the door of every Muslim in Turkey. You should understand this. It has to address the Muslims through at least its radio."

"It is already doing that."

"It is doing that as far as its strength will permit. As far as jamming will permit."

"Yes."

"It calls on Muslims and it makes its attitude known to the infidels."

I am curious about religious cults and their relations with modern-day political movements. Why are they so divided? Why do they have separate mosques?

The response is as follows:

"A single caliph is needed to prevent such divisions. For example, in the Soviet Union there are no significant activities directed against the regime. Of course, there they are suppressed by force."

"What will happen in the Islamic system?"

"In the Islamic system there will not be a single voice as in the Soviet Union nor will it be enforced by the state. On the other hand, the laxity of Europe will also not be allowed. On certain matters, it will be somewhere between Europe and the Soviet Union."

"Such as?"

"Unlike in Europe, some freedoms may be restricted by the wish of people who have surrendered themselves to God. Naturally, the atmosphere established will be based on compassion, faith and conscience without state coercion."

After 1980, Kutahyali was invited to Tehran by the Iranian government. Before that he received religious education in Saudi Arabia.

I ask him: "What is the difference between those two Islamic states?"

Secret Secularism in Saudi Arabia

He says that there is a "tremendous" difference between the two. He insists that what has happened in Iran is an "Islamic reformation" and that Saudi Arabia is ruled by a "pro-American" administration.

"What type of government does Saudi Arabia have?"

Kutahyali says he stayed for 7 months in Saudi Arabia. He adds:

"There are two types of government in Saudi Arabia. One is an American-style monarchy. The second one is the Wahabi government. Secularism is fully prevalent in Saudi Arabia."

"How can that be?"

"Secularism is there, but in a surreptitious form. It is fully practiced. There is no religious interference in state affairs and the state does not interfere in religious affairs."

"Religious affairs are run by the Wahabis. They are led by an individual named Dinbaz and his clergymen. They belong to the Wahabi sect. They have special freedoms on religious matters. They control the Ministry of Religious Trusts. Judges and courts are controlled by Wahabi scholars and imams. This is how the monarchy is run."

"What about the monarchs?"

"The monarchs are not only unaffiliated with any religious sect, they are the quintessential infidel aristocrats and exploiters. They only think of their worldly existence and keep filling their stomachs. They allow certain religious freedoms in order not to lose their monarchy. The United States provides major assistance on this issue."

Ahmet Kutahyali is literally a "revolutionary guard." In my opinion, he is much more capable than Cemalettin Hoja.

He is both clever and intelligent.

Iranian Help Inadequate

I ask him: "Does Iran provide any material aid to your movement?"

He replies: "Unfortunately, [Iran] does not have the means to provide aid on a scale which would intimidate your paper, your readers and everyone in Turkey who supports the regime or who opposes it on non-Islamic grounds. Hopefully, some day it will have those means."

"The scale may be large or small, but apparently some assistance is provided."

"Let us say that there is no global military assistance."

"How are Kaplan Hoja's books and publications funded?"

"They do not have the financial capability to send assistance to anywhere in the world. This is a country which has been fighting a war for the last 7 years. It is battling against the entire world. It is a state which fights against people who openly say they are infidels with their papers, with their left and with their right."

"Does it not provide any assistance?"

"For the moment it is doing what it can. Iran's dispute is not only with the infidels of Iraq. Iran is waging a concurrent struggle against all the infidels of the world."

I had met an Iranian in the Jafari Sadik Mosque in Berlin. This mosque is a place where members of the Jafari sect worship. I had met an Iranian in this mosque built by Turkish citizens from Igdir, Kars, and we had argued for a while.

He had said the same things as Kutahyali.

That mosque had on its walls placards about the Islamic revolution in Iran.

I had felt like I had entered the Iranian Consulate General.

[Box p 13] Collaboration With Iranian Organizations

Cemalettin Hoja maintains relations and receives support from the following Islamic organizations:

1) Ihvanulmuslimin [Muslim Brotherhood]—A religious organization established by Egyptian clergyman Hasan al-Benna in 1920. Kaplan alleges that this organization was later seized by capitalists and has been trying to attract Al-Benna's followers to his ranks.

2) Afghan Jihad movements—This is the Islamic front formed by the mujahideen fighting against Soviet occupation. Kaplan believes that this front will soon come under the control of secular-minded Zahir Shah [former king of Afghanistan] and that it will thus deviate from the path of Islam. As a result, Kaplan has been courting the Afghan mujahideen.

3) Iranian revolutionary movements—According to the Hoja, what has happened in Iran is not a religious revolution but Islamic reformation. When that reformation came about, the Shah lost his throne and foreign enemies lost their interests. Having been defeated in Iran, these forces are now trying to prevent the formation Islamic governments in Iraq, Syria and Turkey. When an Islamic state is established in Turkey, borders will be abolished and the Muslims of Iran and Turkey will be united.

4) Islamic societies in Europe—The Islamic societies movement was originated by the National View organization. The "Communication" movement officially was born with the distribution of a communique in the Barbaros Mosque in Koln on 13 August 1983. The Hoja alleges that some of these "communicationists" are being bought by wealthy individuals who tour the mosques. This movement which alarms secularists and parties is intent on pursuing the path of Hasan al-Benna of Egypt, the founder of brotherhood societies, and wants to establish [in Turkey] an Islamic state like the one Iran. [End of Part I]

[1 Mar 87 p 17]

[Text] [Begin Part II] National View Organizations of Europe.

We are talking to the Secretary General of the National View Organizations of Europe.

The venue of our conversation is not a mosque.

We are in a Koln apartment which has been furnished as an office. In contrast to Kaplan Hoja and his followers, Ali Yuksel is a modern person who dresses in Western garments.

Yuksel says he received his religious education in Turkey.

He begins by saying: "None of the news published in the papers these days is true." He continues:

"None of those articles have been written on the basis of sound information gained through candid conversations with the people who are at the center of all these issues. They sit at a table, they think up a scenario or script for the story and write it. It is their play, their script and their actors."

I ask: "Alright. Let us ask you then: When and why were these National View Organizations of Europe established? You tell us."

Ali Yuksel says the following about his organization:

"The National View Organizations of Europe completed its formation in May 1985. I am one of the founders of the organization. I am deputy president and secretary general of the organization."

"Who is the president?"

"Osman Yumakogullari."

"Who is Osman Yumakogullari?"

"He is a divinity school and law school graduate. By profession he is a journalist. He used to own the newspaper MARMARA in Bursa."

"What about Hasan Damar?"

"I do not know Hasan Dama's official capacity. But all Muslims here know Hasan Damar. He is a colleague who spoke at the conferences sponsored by organizations such as the Turkish Association of Europe, the Islamic Center and the Turkish Workers' Association. He is not a clergyman, he is a worker."

"What is the Islamic Youth Association of Europe?"

"I have heard about the 'Islamic Youth Organization of Europe,' but I have not heard about the 'Islamic Youth Association of Europe.' Announcements by an 'Islamic Youth Organization of Europe' appear in MILLI GAZETE. Young people come together in meetings. However, I do not know if such an organization has been officially formed."

"How many members does the National View Organizations have?"

"Until 2 months ago, we had 85 organizations and 15 to 20 liaison branches in the FRG. After the emergence of the controversy about reactionarism the number of applications grew. Now we have 20 to 30 [branches]. In other words growth occurred over a short period of time."

"Do you have links with organizations which have a different name?"

150 Organizations in Germany

"There are numerous organizations which carry different names but which work with us and share our views."

"What you called 20 to 30, are they mosques or societies?"

"They are our different branches in the FRG. Meanwhile, the organizations which share our views number over 150 in the FRG alone. In Holland, Austria and other countries there are organizations which are not called 'National View' but which share our views and which have a national viewpoint."

"What type of national viewpoint?"

"Our national view is not racism."

"You referred to sister organizations. Can you identify and enumerate them?"

"There are 218 organizations including them."

"Who are these organizations you refer to as friendly or sister organizations which share your views?"

"For example, the 'Turkish Islamic Association,' the 'Society to Preserve Islamic Houses of Worship,' and the 'Society for the Promotion of Morality.' There are numerous organizations which are officially registered under such names and which have their own by-laws."

"What is the Federation of Islamic Countries?"

"That is the Federation of Islamic Societies. They are headed by Nuri Yazar and Ali Arslan. They formed that federation."

Ali Arslan was arrested in Turkey in 1981, sentenced to 10 and 1/2 months in prison and stayed in prison for 4 months. He is the former Mufti of Tekirdag.

Now he is a publisher; he is the owner of Arslan Publishing Company.

The "National View" was formally organized in 1985. But the people sharing its views first organized under the "Turkish Association of Europe" in 1978.

The first president of that association was Dr Yusuf Zeynel Abidin.

Dr Abidin was the son of an Iraqi mother from Kirkuk and a Turkish father. Dr Abidin, who died last year at the age of 49, collaborated closely with both the "Suleymanists" and the "National View."

The "Federation of Islamic Societies" was formed by a group that seceded from the "Turkish Association of Europe." The group was headed by Dr Abidin.

The federation was formed with the leadership of Nuri Yazar and Ali Arslan.

I continue my questioning:

"What was the cause of Nuri Yazar's and Ali Arslan's differences with the Turkish Association of Europe?"

This question is answered by an accountant from Bursa who is present at our conversation with Ali Yuksel:

"To deviate from the ideology of the National View and to form another organization."

"How strong are they? How influential are they?"

The accountant from Bursa replies:

"They do not have much power."

I ask:

"Who is Dr Fazil Uveyce of Syria?"

"He was the director of the Koln Islamic Center. But now he is not."

"Are the Turkish Association of Europe and the Koln Islamic Center still operational?"

"The Turkish Association changed its name to 'Islamic Association.'"

"What do you think about Kaplan Hoja? Kaplan Hoja says: 'I was a member of the National View. Erbakan sent me to Germany.' Is that true?"

"We do not know who sent him from Turkey. In other words, we were not told anything about that. Nor did we hear anything. We only know that he came here. When he came I attended a few of his conferences. At those conferences, he said that he endorsed the National View fully and that the National View is the salvation of our nation."

"Then what happened?"

"Later—I was not here nor in Koln—we heard that Cemalettin Hoja is saying exactly the opposite of what he was previously saying."

"Did you ever talk to him?"

"We met once. We said: 'Hoja, we keep hearing such things. Why?' We asked him for explanations. But he did not say anything consistent."

"What did he say for example?"

"He said things like 'We are the true National View, but we have been expelled.' I did not get a rationally satisfactory reply. We did not meet

again. As for the issue of 'Erbakan Hoja sent me,' I once witnessed an argument in his congregation 3 years ago.

'Erbakan Did Not Send Me'

"One of them said: 'How can you can speak against Erbakan Hoja? Did not Erbakan send you here?' He replied: 'No, Erbakan Hoja did not send me.'

"We saw him saying many inconsistent things. I attended his conferences. I also see what is published in the press. He gives me the impression of a person who changes his opinions frequently."

"How was your organization formed? We forgot about that."

"After the National View Organization was formed, we persuaded Osman Yumakoglu, who is the publisher of MILLI GAZETE here, to found the National View.

"He said: 'I cannot work with an organization that exists in name but not substance. The organization I work with must be legally established and must have a definite name and bylaws. That is how I work.' We said 'fine.'"

"How long has Osman Yumakoglu been here?"

"Three years."

"Let us go back to Cemalettin Kaplan."

"I asked the Hoja: 'You have no party and no organization. Suppose you issued your communications and the people received them. How will the reformation take place?'"

"You know the Hoja. What kind of person is he? Is he linked to Iran in your opinion?"

"Now, Mr Mumcu, after establishing the National View we got together with colleagues whom we trusted, who had received religious education and who were also socially influential. Our community here has been left to its own fate; it has many problems. We established this organization to help them in their problems.

"When we asked ourselves what principles to base our work on, we concurred from the outset on the following principle:

"Those who oppose us and those who do not.

"Those who approve of us and those who disapprove of us.

"Let us not pay attention to any of them. In other words, let us not say anything against them. Getting involved in endless conflicts with them will keep us from performing our principal duties.

"We also agreed on another principle.

"We decided not to and we did not level any accusations against others even if there is a Cemalettin Kaplan who is persistently battling us and who is working to knock us down. Although they leveled numerous written and verbal allegations against us in our conferences and meetings, we did not respond to them."

"In other words, you will not respond?"

"The question of whether they receive aid from Iran and other similar issues are major charges. I must see some evidence supporting them. If I cannot find any evidence my charges cannot be anything more than gossip. If I do that I would be doing verbally what many newspapers I criticize have written. I do not want to lower myself to their level."

"I understand that. But why did the Hoja break away from you? You can probably respond to that."

"At the time the Iranian revolution started. Of course, apart from the result of propaganda to the effect that Islam was coming, we did not like the position of the Shah in Iran. We did not like the Shah's pro-American activities, his system of allowing the rich to get richer while the people lived in deep poverty and his fondness for building golden chairs for himself. In other words, we felt sympathetic toward anyone who would knock him down."

"And then?"

"Then we saw that this sympathy dissipated. Now we think that the Islamic revolution in Iran and their stance is in fact detrimental to Islam."

"Let us talk about Cemalettin Hoja. What is this Hoja?"

"Cemalettin Kaplan is one of those persons who harbors excessive admiration for the Iranian revolution. He has maintained and continues to maintain his excessive zeal. With regard to the issue of whether he receives money from Iran, in our religion it is a sin to level allegations on an issue which is not a matter of principle for us and for which we do not have definitive proof.

"We cannot do that. But they talk about it. We do not know if such rumors matter."

"You are right. What I want to know is this. On what point did you break with this Hoja? This is something that should be clarified, should it not?"

"I said that we will not engage in any fight with anybody including even Cemalettin Hoja or any group which is working to knock us down and which is hostile to us. Then there is the question of the Hoja's unchecked and excessive sympathy toward Iran.

"This is one of the most important issues separating us. We never heard from him personally, but the things we have read in the press and heard from those who have listened to him are not things which we can approve."

"What are they, for example?"

"For example, I heard something like this. I do not know if it is true. I heard that he said: 'If the Iranian army and the Turkish army face each other in battle, we must join the ranks of the Iranian army and use our weapons against the Turkish army.'

"When I heard that, as a patriot my hair rose. I said: 'That cannot be.' These are the type of things that separated us. For example, we hear that in the past he ran as an NSP parliamentary candidate. Our organization here has no direct organic relations with any party in Turkey. Of course, many of our members may individually support a party in Turkey.

"Many of Cemalettin Hoja's un-Islamic postures separates us from him. We are firmly convinced that such methods cannot produce any benefit for our nation, country and religion.

"Moreover, it is impossible for us to plan and organize such thoughts. Such thoughts can only be planned and executed by organizations such as the CIA on which the large powers ruling the world today may spend billions of dollars. They are trying to disseminate these ideas, and that is the doing of organizations like the CIA."

"Are not those who realized the Iranian revolution members of the Jafari sect?"

"We have information on that issue, because that is a religious issue. There are very few Jafaris in our country. They are mostly around Kars."

"What is the state of your relations with the Religious Affairs Chairmanship?"

What Acts Are Against the State?

"I served in the Religious Affairs Chairmanship for 5 years. For example, I know Mr Niyazi (Niyazi Baloglu, Religious Counselor of the Turkish embassy in Bonn) from the imam-preacher school and the Religious Affairs Chairmanship. When they first came here we visited them to welcome them. I have visited him at least five times on religious holidays. In our latest meeting, he tried to interfere by saying: 'You cannot speak against the state.' Which of our remarks or acts have been against the state?

"For many years the state has not provided any services here. Our organization and other organizations provided these services to our citizens. If you really love the state, when you come here as a representative of the state, you should not act in a way that alienates the people from the state. You should gather them and say: 'You provided these services before we could provide them. May God bless you. You did too little or too much. But you tried to do something. Now we too are here. Let us run these services

together.' Instead, you said: 'We will crush the National View. We will crush so and so. We will destroy all of them.' It is you who initiated discord."

Curiosity Over National View

At this point, Ali Yuksel claims that the Religious Affairs Chairmanship is trying to push away his organization and Turkish citizens.

"We never spoke against the state or our homeland in our statements. That is impossible. What patriot would speak against his state?"

Yuksel complains:

"This is how they portray us. This how they present us. That is what suits their purposes. They want to alienate citizens from us and draw them to their side. But, for some inexplicable reason, our membership grew after these attempts.

"The citizen can see everything. He looks at our services and work and compares them with theirs. He is curious about a National View which is constantly under attack. He says to himself: Let me go and see their mosque. And he comes to our mosque."

"How many mosques do you have?"

"We have over 150 mosques in the FRG. If we include those that sympathize with us and those in other European countries, we have 218 mosques."

"About 1,000." [as published]

"There is a figure of 702 mosques cited."

"How many mosques does the Religious Affairs Chairmanship operate?"

"The number of imams the Religious Affairs Chairmanship sends is well known. It is about 200. There are people who ask the Religious Affairs Chairmanship to send hojas even though they do not sympathize with that organization, because they do not want to pay for hojas from their own pocket. Including these, there are 300 imams."

"How do you pay the salaries of the imams?"

"With donations from citizens."

"What percentage of the mosques do you own?"

"We own only one or two. The rest are on leased properties."

200 Suleymanist Mosques

"How many mosques do the Suleymanists have?"

"About 200."

"Who were the leaders of the Suleymanists here? Was it not Harun Resit Tuyluoglu?"

"Yes, it was Harun Resit Tuyluoglu.

"He was an imam in Balcova, Izmir. His title here was 'Head Imam of the Islamic Cultural Centers.' He is a populist person who has a compelling style of speech."

"Who is their leader today? Is it Nahit Dincer or Demirgulle?"

"I wish it was Nahit Dincer. He is a good man. The current leader is Necdet Demirgulle."

"Tuyluoglu is currently in Turkey. I believe he once went to the United States."

"He says he went to the United States. He declared that he went to the United States in one of his conferences."

"What do you think about the dispute between the Religious Affairs Chairmanship and the Suleymanists?"

"The 12 September episode caused certain developments on that issue. In particular, the tough stance of the Religious Affairs Chairmanship here resulted in a rapprochement of the religious organizations providing services here. Those strong pressures brought these organizations together. In the past, it was not possible to meet with them. But these pressures brought these organizations together on many issues. It resulted in the establishment of a good dialog. We have not seen the Suleymanists say anything against us recently."

'They All Buy From Same Store'

"Where do the Suleymanists derive their strength from?"

"As far as I know, they are a tightly-knit group and act on instructions from a single center. For example, if one of them opens a store they all go and buy from him. If he does not have something that they want they buy it from someone that he recommends. In other words, again they buy from their own people."

"What is the status of Kemal Kacar?"

"They circulated an audiotape made by Kacar in Turkey. He has a good approach to Freemasonry and similar issues."

"What does he say?"

"He says that 'these are not people to be afraid of.' He has a positive approach to Freemasonry. When I listened to Kemal Kacar himself on this issue, I wondered whether he is affiliated with them or whether he holds a rank in their organization."

"What is the status of the Nurists?"

"There are not many Nurist societies here. In all of Germany they may have three or four societies."

"The main groups are well-known: The Suleymanists, you, the National View, the Religious Affairs Chairmanship and Kaplan Hoja's followers. Are there other Islamist groups in Germany?"

"There are the semi-Muslims."

"Who are those?"

"The Hur-Turk organization which is pro-Motherland Party. Its leader is a Christian Democrat."

The religious and political movement known as "National View" was first established as the "Turkish Association of Europe" in 1977.

The members of this movement established the "Koln Islamic Center" in 1978.

A Syrian doctor from Kirkuk played a major role in these developments.

Dr Yusuf Zeynel Abidin.

Dr Abidin broke away from the "Islamic Cultural Centers," which was originally affiliated with the Suleymanists, and joined the ranks of the National View.

Dr Abidin and Hasan Damar, a worker, played major roles in these developments.

The "Federation of Islamic Societies" was formed by group which broke away from the "Turkish Association of Europe" and which was led by Dr Abidin. Led by Nuri Yazar and Ali Arslan, "19 hojas" broke away from the Turkish Association of Europe.

Remarkably, the Turkish Association of Europe was formed with the leadership of a Syrian doctor. The Koln Islamic Center was also established by the same doctor in 1978.

The administrative council of this organization includes another Syrian doctor: Dr Fazil Uveyce.

[2 Mar 87 p 13]

[Text] Hasan Damar comes from a worker background. He is a capable person and an organizer. He speaks very well. He is an eloquent speaker.

However, his words had apparently such a stinging effect that Nuri Yazar and Ali Arslan broke with Damar and formed a separate organization.

Initially Cemalettin Kaplan also wrote in HICRET as a follower of the "National View." At that time his title was:

"Fatwa Commission Chairman of the National View Organizations of Europe."

Kaplan cites 13 August 1983 as the date of his break with the National View.

The constitution he says he prepared is also dated 1983.

The person who helped Cemalettin Kaplan to obtain asylum in the FRG is also an interesting figure:

Murat Bayrak.

Bayrak is a former Justice Party [JP] parliamentary deputy and one of the most recent senior officials of the Nationalist Action Party [NAP].

He is the businessman to whom former CIA official and arms merchant Frank Terpil sold arms, according to Terpil's testimony.

He is the only NAP official who was not indicted after the 12 September operation.

Is there a personal or political conflict between the "Koln Islamic Center" and the "National View Organizations of Europe"?

Some say "there is" and some say "there is not."

I ask Ali Yuksel.

He says: "No, we do not have and we have not had any conflicts."

The headquarters of the National View Organizations of Europe is a leased apartment in the building of the "Koln Islamic Center" in Koln. Thus the relations between the two organizations are those of landlord and lessee.

Dr Zeynel Abidin of Kirkuk had a very positive effect on the Turks of "National View." Dr Abidin died in 1986. Both of his daughters are married to the Algan brothers who are among the leaders of the Islamic Federation in Berlin.

No Disputes With Doctor From Kirkuk

Ali Yuksel speaks respectfully about Dr Abidin.

A message of thanks published in MILLI GAZETE by Dr Abidin's family after his death indicates that there were no outstanding disputes between the doctor from Kirkuk and the National View.

Dr Abidin's funeral was attended by delegates from various Islamic countries. The National View was extensively represented in the funeral ceremonies. MILLI GAZETE covered Dr Abidin's death extensively.

Members of Dr Abidin's family extended their thanks to Necmettin Erbakan, former NSP senator Lutfi Dogan, Oguzhan Asilturk; Issan Ahtar, the representative of Syrian Muslims; Galip Himmet, a representative of European Muslims; Dr Ahmet Sai, Religious Affairs Chairman in Austria; Osman Yumakogullari, owner of the European bureau of MILLI GAZETE; PP leader Ahmet Tekdal and other party officials; the administrators of the National View Organizations of Europe; and Kerim Muhacirzad, the European representative of the Afghan mujahideen.

Ahmet and Haldun Algan, Dr Abidin's sons-in-law, are both liked and respected in National View circles.

The conclusion that emerges from all this is as follows: There were no differences between the doctor from Kirkuk and the National View.

To this day, members of the National View speak with respect about Dr Abidin.

An Islamist in the Peace Congress

Ali Yuksel says he attended the "World Peace Congress" in Copenhagen on 16 October 1986.

The "Peace Congress" is obviously not an Islamic gathering. On the contrary, it is a congress attended by socialist individuals and organizations.

Yuksel says: "Nobody has a monopoly on peace."

Yuksel took part in the congress, which was attended by 2,700 delegates from 138 countries, on behalf of the National View Organizations of Europe. Another participant in the congress was Hak-Is [Turkish Moral Rights Workers' Union] leader Necati Celik from Turkey.

Yuksel made a speech at the congress. The 2 January 1987 edition of MILLI GAZETE carried a summary of Yuksel's speech.

Let us learn about Yuksel's speech at the International Peace Congress from MILLI GAZETE's report:

"We said that imperialist forces do not have the right to turn the world into a hell for people. We protested both the United States and the Soviet Union for acts which impair peace in various parts of the world.

"For example, we told them that we deplore the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and the U.S. acts of aggression and repression in various parts of the world. We said that if peace is truly desired, everyone who harms peace must be deplored regardless of who he is. We pointed out that peace is not the exclusive domain of just a special group of people but all of humanity and

that everyone must stand up for it. We said that all the people of the world feel the need for peace and that everyone should work together for peace. We emphasized the need for cooperation.

"We said that one does not have to support unconditionally one or the other superpower in order to have joint cooperation. We stated that peace cannot be achieved as long as one camp justifies every action of the United States while another camp supports everything the Soviet Union does.

"We condemned the repression of Muslim Turks in Bulgaria. We stated that in Bulgaria followers of the faith cannot live in accordance with their beliefs."

Neither Right nor Left

Yuksel insists that they should not be included in either of the traditionally-defined "rightist" or "leftist" groups. He continues:

"It would be wrong to portray us as being part of the right."

What about the left?

"That, too, would be wrong."

Yuksel opposes the portrayal of all leftists as "godless."

When asked whether "all rightists are religious" he replies:

"There are rightists who do not believe in religion."

Then how do they implement their plan of action? Do they cooperate with rightist or leftist organizations?

On this issue, Yuksel says:

"We do not have a rule that we should prefer rightists over leftists or vice versa."

He says that that is why he attended the World Peace Council's congress. He says:

"There was no negative reaction. We generated major interest."

Riza Nur's Anti-Ataturk Books

Dr Riza Nur is an enemy of Ataturk. Nur's four-volume memoirs entitled "My Life and Memoirs" have been read and taught by Ataturk's enemies for years.

Written in 1929, these memoirs were registered by Nur in the "Oriental Writings" section of the British Museum under reference number OR 12591.

The memoirs were given to the British Museum on condition that "they not be released to readers until 1960." They have been secretly disseminated by the enemies of Ataturk since 1960.

The memoirs amount to nothing more than a mirror of Dr Riza Nur's psychological imbalances.

Riza Nur: 'Humans Disgust Me'

Let us give an example:

In his memoirs, Dr Nur says: "Humans disgust me." At one point he expresses a desire to become a woman as follows:

"I maintain relations with women only out of my need to satisfy my passion. But women are not what I want. In fact, because of that I thought in my youth that I could become a woman. But women do men like [incomplete sentence as published]. Eunuchs are well known. I could not decide." ("My Life and Memoirs," Vol. 4, pp 1530-1531)

This book, which openly insults Ataturk, is now sold in many European cities.

False Address on Nur's Book

And who prints this book?

The "Altindag Publishing House" in Turkey.

Its address: Beyazit, Beyazsaray No. 39, Istanbul.

This is a phony address. There is no such publishing house at that address.

The book also carries a West German address:

Publisher: Heidi Schmidt, 4100 Duisburg 11, Deutschland.

This address, too, is phony. There is no such address.

I found a copy of Riza Nur's memoirs at the "Berlin subdivision" of the "Islamic Youth Organization of Europe" at Oranienstrasse 12 1000 in Berlin.

I asked the young salesman:

"Do you carry Riza Nur's memoirs?"

After examining me in length, the salesman said: "Yes, we do."

"How much is it?"

"Sixty deutschemarks."

Then we started bargaining.

We agreed on 45 deutschemarks.

I asked for a receipt.

He gave me one.

The receipt said: "Islamic Youth Organization of Europe, Berlin subdivision" followed by "receipt" in Turkish and "Quittung" in German.

The receipt has columns showing what the receipt was given for.

Membership fees, donations, books, tapes.

Four volumes bound in green at DM 60 amounts to 25,200 Turkish lira.

Who Takes Book Revenues?

Who prints this book? Who sells it? Who takes the book revenues?

We converse with officials of the "Islamic Federation" in the Elif Restaurant in Berlin which is located next to the bookstore where this book is sold.

Sitting across from me are Dr Yusuf Zeynel Abidin's two sons-in-law, the Ahmet and Haldun Algan brothers.

Haldun Algan is an engineer. He speaks Turkish and German very well.

He says: "There is a developing Islamic movement. That is what you must examine."

Sitting next to him are Ikram Ghouri, a Pakistani engineer; Yahya Werner Schulzke, a German Muslim; and Zekeriya Bina.

Werner Schulzke says: "Selamunaleykum [peace be with you]."

I ask: "Do you speak Turkish?"

'Elhamdulillah' From a German

He says in German: "No."

Then pressing his hand to his chest, he says, "Elhamdulillah [Glory be upon God]" in a way that would leave devout Muslims astonished.

Sitting between Ikram Ghouri, the Pakistani, and Schulzke, a postal clerk who took on the name "Yahya" after converting to Islam, is a Turkish engineer.

His name is Zekeriya Bina.

They are all founders or members of the "Islamic Federation" established in Berlin on 31 August 1980.

The founders of the "Islamic Federation" are:

Imam Nail Dural; Yakup Tasci; Zekeriya Bina, engineer; Derdah Marashde, a Jordanian student; Ikram A. Ghouri, a Pakistani engineer; Temel Gul; Bilal Demirtas; Esref Avci; Yahya Tel; Yahya Werner Schulzke; Ahmet Algan; and Bekir Tasci.

The president of the federation is Nail Dural.

We could not talk to Dural because he was out of the country.

He is perhaps one of the influential leaders of the federation.

The founders of the "Islamic Federation" have also formed a religious foundation.

It is called the "Islamic Foundation."

The "Islamic Foundation of Berlin" has purchased a building at "Bobbstr. 4, 1000 Berlin 35." The building, which incorporates 33 apartments, houses a mosque and a "Berlin School of Islamic Studies."

I ask: "In Germany there are Suleymanists, followers of the National View, supporters of the Religious Affairs Chairmanship. Which movement are you closest to?"

They are not too pleased with that question.

One of them says: "The police questioned Yahya Schulzke as a suspected member of the National View."

Pro-Cemalettin Hoja or Pro-Suleymanist?

They object: "The name of our federation says it: Islamic Federation. We have people of all views."

"But there must be some view to which you feel closest. Are you closer to Cemalettin Hoja or the Suleymanists?"

The response to that question is:

"Let us say that most of our members sympathize with the National View. However, our federation and the National View are independent organizations."

They tell me about their work. They say that they do not discriminate among Muslims and that their ranks include Muslims from all nations and of all persuasions.

My mind is constantly on Dr Riza Nur's memoirs.

Who distributes this book? Why is the book sold by the "Islamic Youth Organization, Berlin subdivision"?

I asked the same question to Ali Yuksel, the secretary general of the National View Organizations of Europe. He said:

"I do not know where it is sold. I learned it from you. They are not connected to our organization."

I insisted:

"Is not the Islamic Youth Organization closely affiliated with you?"

"We do not have that much control over them. Nor do we have any organic ties with them."

Now I ask Haldun Algan:

Book Printed in Saudi Arabia

"Who distributes this book?"

Mahmut Hoja, the president of the Mevlana Mosque in Berlin, interjects:

"Our congregation does not even know who Riza Nur is. They do not even read."

"They do not read it, but it is being sold. Who sells it? Who prints it?"

Then the secret is unraveled.

The book is printed in Saudi Arabia and distributed among Islamic organizations in Europe at no charge.

The goal is to provide the Islamic organizations with income.

Four volumes at DM 60.

"How many were sent?"

"About 30,000 were sent to Germany."

I multiply 30,000 by DM 60.

It totals up to DM 1.8 million.

At the current official exchange rate DM 1 equals 420 Turkish lira.

That translates into 756 million Turkish lira.

Thus the income Islamic organizations in Europe earn from Dr Riza Nur's book alone amounts to 756 million Turkish lira.

But this is not the only book on Ataturk.

'Idol Man'

There is another book published in Jordan and distributed by the Saudi Arabian organization called "Rabitat-ul Alem-ul Islam [Muslim World League]," also known in short as the "Rabita organization."

The book is called "Idol Man."

This book, too, is distributed among Islamic organizations.

I looked for this book, but I could not find it.

Salih Yuksel, the president of the "Islamic Youth Society," whom we met at the Ayasofya Mosque in Zaandam, Holland, says that he has read "Idol Man." I also know that a Turkish cabinet minister went to the headquarters of the Rabita organization and asked that the distribution of the book continue.

Thus, the book printed in Jordan is distributed in Holland and European cities with large Turkish populations.

Who is running this operation?

Who acts as intermediary? Who takes delivery and who sells these books?

Kadir Misiroglu.

This is the name cited by the leaders of the Islamic Federation. They say:

"He brings them and he distributes them."

When Kadir Misiroglu's name is mentioned, it is necessary to pause for a moment and examine an old file.

[3 Mar 87 p 13]

[Text] The file in question is Case No. 1973/2 tried before the Military Court of the Eskisehir Martial Law Command. The court decision on the case is numbered 1973/5.

The defendant: Kadir Misiroglu; father's name: Eyup; mother's name: Saire; born in Akcaabat in 1933; graduate of law school.

Misiroglu was first prosecuted because of an anti-Ataturk speech he delivered in the conference hall of the Turkish National Student Union in Istanbul in 1971.

At the time martial law was in effect. The martial law commander was Faik Turun.

The prosecution, supervised by Turun, did not find anything criminal in Misiroglu's speech and dismissed the case in Decision No. 296/56 on 11 October 1971. Misiroglu had said in his speech:

"The Turkish soldier who is used for anti-Islamic acts is at your service. The same Turkish soldier can pass judgement on Mustafa Kemal Pasha even if he is a pasha. Let no one doubt that."

Faik Turun's prosecution did not find anything criminal in Misiroglu's following remarks:

"In the history of the world, reformation came only once in glorious form. That was the reformation whereby the supreme lord of the universe condemned Satan to absolute subjugation. In other words it was the Islamic reformation. Since then there has been no reformation nor will there be one. If there will be one, God willing, it will happen as a continuation of the reformation initiated by our great Prophet 1,400 years ago and with the purpose of eliminating the satanic rubbish which has infiltrated our ranks to undermine the Prophet's reformation.

"[Ataturk's] reformation is over. It changed even our toilets. Our toilets became the toilets of the West. Our Friday became Sunday. Nothing that was ours was left unchanged. Now it is their turn to compromise. The field is open for those who oppose reforms and not the reformists. May your path be open and may your work be blessed."

Gen Faik Turun did not object to the decision of the military prosecutor of the Istanbul Martial Law Command to dismiss the case against Misiroglu who insisted in his speech that the abolishment of the Sultanate, its replacement by a republic, the abolishment of the caliphate and the adoption of the Latin script was "infidelism."

However, the Ministry of National Defense exercised its legal authority and asked in a directive dated 29 September 1972 and referenced AD:3773-3-72 for the withdrawal of the military prosecutor's decision to dismiss the case.

Turun Blocks Misiroglu's Prosecution

But General Turun did not comply with this order. Turun, who suspected even the flying birds of being communists and who set up a torture center in Ziverbey, refused to order the military prosecutor to prosecute this enemy of Ataturk.

When some of the tapes of [Misirlioglu's speech] were seized by officials in the area of jurisdiction of the Eskisehir Martial Law Command, the martial law commander, Gen Irfan Ozaydinli, ordered Misiroglu's prosecution. The subsequent trial ended in the conviction of Misiroglu and those who reproduced and disseminated Misiroglu's tapes.

Misiroglu's defense attorney, Ismail Muftuoglu, later became the Minister of Justice.

Cemalettin Kaplan often refers to Dr Riza Nur's memoirs in his speeches and says that those memoirs "were sent to him by God."

Actually, they were not sent by God but by Kadir Misiroglu.

Where do the Islamic organizations get their money from?

This question kept arousing my curiosity.

Dues collected from the congregation.

Donations.

Revenues from book sales.

The book revenues include those derived from the sale of "Idol Man" and the memoirs of Dr Riza Nur both which are printed in Saudi Arabia.

What else?

Companies.

Government assistance provided by Belgium and Holland.

And assistance provided by the "Rabita organization."

The full name of the "Rabita organization" is "Rabitat-ul Alem-ul Islam [Muslim World League]."

The "Rabitat-ul Alem-ul Islam" is a Shari'a organization formed in Saudi Arabia. Its objective is "Islamic internationalism" and to spread Islamic thought as a system of government in all Islamic countries.

It is this "Rabita organization" which finances the "Islamic Cultural Center" in Brussels.

The president of the Center is Abdullah al-Ahdal who is also known as the "Head Imam."

Al-Ahdal is a young man who taught "Islamic law" at the University of Riyadh before he was appointed to this position.

He is both the representative of "Rabita" and the president of the "Islamic Cultural Centers."

The "Rabita organization" is one of the major sources of funding for the Islamic organizations.

We discuss this subject with Head Imam Al-Ahdal in Brussels.

He says: "We contributed 30 million Belgian francs in aid in 1985."

That is 613.5 million Turkish lira.

This aid goes to mosques and societies.

In addition, students majoring in religious subjects are offered scholarships. But that is a separate story.

If we divide Islamic movements roughly into two as "pro-Tehran" and "pro-Riyadh," their sources of funding can be outlined more easily.

Beside these, there is also the "Religious Affairs Chairmanship Foundations." The full name of the "Religious Affairs Chairmanship Foundations" is:

"Religious Affairs Chairmanship Turkish-Islamic Association."

The Religious Affairs Chairmanship Turkish-Islamic Association is headed by Niyazi Baloglu, the religious counselor of the Turkish embassy in Bonn.

This foundation operates out of an impressive building in Koln—reportedly bought for DM 3 million. It has an extremely clean mosque, runs athletic facilities adjacent to the mosque and offers computer, language and electronics courses.

This is a facility that stands up for Turkish citizens abroad. One cannot but admire it. Anyone who wishes can go and pray in the mosque or work out in the athletic facilities.

Everyone, with or without headcovers, can come in and leave freely. No one bothers anybody.

Signs of 'Tekaful'

As I tour the foundation with counselor Baloglu I notice signs advertising "Tekaful [equality]."

These signs can be found in virtually all mosques.

Tekaful is an interest-free finance company about which we will talk later on. Like the Al Baraka Turk and Faisal Finance corporations in Turkey, Tekaful's advertisements can often be found in MILLI GAZETE, the newspaper of the National View.

I ask Cemalettin Kaplan in Bochum:

"What is the source of your income? Is it only the monthly dues you collect from the believers?"

He looks at me sternly and says: "Do you not know it gushes in from Iran?" His congregation is amused by the answer.

My purpose is to get an accurate answer. I say: "I am just asking."

He replies:

"Do you see this congregation? These are all blessed people. The money in their purse is blessed with abundance. The small sums that they donate is adequate, glory be upon God. We do have some debts at this time. But we will collect the money needed. We will say: Give your 1,000-mark, 500-mark and 100-mark bills. God willing, they will donate in generously."

Members of the "Association of Islamic Congregations and Societies" deposit 2.5 percent of their salaries directly into Cemalettin Kaplan's and Ahmet Polat's personal bank accounts.

To be more precise, each month the bank withholds 2.5 percent of the members' paychecks and deposits them automatically in Kaplan's and Polat's accounts.

Kar-Bir Company

Kaplan Hoja controls a company called "Kar-Bir [Profit-One]." It is registered as a textile company. But it is involved in the trade, export and import of foodstuffs.

The managing director of Kar-Bir is not a Turk, but a Yugoslav.

The full name and address of the company is:

"Kar-Bir Lebensmittel-u Textil GMBH, Nesser Str. 397, 5000 Koln."

About a month ago, Kar-Bir's record was deleted from the trade register of Koln and moved to the city of Salzgitter.

The roll number of the company in the Koln trade register is: "Az 7 Ar 56/86."

The managing director of the company, which was established on 23 March 1983, is a Yugoslav national named Salki Dumanulic.

The company reportedly exports and imports goods to and from Iran. This trade is its main source of income.

Cemalettin Hoja is deeply irritated by rumors of links between himself and Kar-Bir.

One rumor that goes about is:

"Cemalettin Hoja received \$400 million from Iran."

When this and other rumors related to Kar-Bir are mentioned, the Hoja is extremely aggravated.

'Prove It'

He says: "Prove it. Go ahead and prove it."

Rumors about the company "Yibitas" also aggravate the Hoja deeply.

One does not need an independent confirmation of the close relations between the Association of Islamic Congregations and Societies and Iranian embassies. Because they are so evident.

Kaplan Hoja's "revolutionary guards" pick up the Turkish editions of KAYHAN and ISLAMIN CAGRISI from Iranian embassies and consulates and distribute them in mosques.

Pro-Iranian activists such as Kaplan and Ahmet Kutahyali are selected by Iranian embassies and invited to Tehran and Qum.

The Islamic Republic of Iran distributes millions of audio and videocassettes in various European cities. Some of these are in Turkish. German recordings are translated into Turkish and played in homes and societies.

These are also secretly smuggled into Turkey.

Iranian Propaganda Center in Rome

All these are directly financed by the Islamic Republic of Iran.

The propaganda center Iran has designated for this purpose is the Iranian embassy in Rome.

Publications such as KAYHAN and ISLAMIN CAGRISI as well as Khomeyni's speeches are first sent from Tehran to Rome. From there they are distributed to Iranian embassies and consulates in Europe.

In 1981 alone, 500,000 Muslim workers and students in Europe passed through this propaganda network.

Audiocassettes, videocassettes, books and magazines.

These are all means employed by the Islamic Republic of Iran "to export and to spread its revolution."

An Iranian journalist has disclosed that 5 million copies of 300 books printed in several languages were distributed in Europe alone.

One million audiocassettes and hundreds of thousands of videocassettes have been dispatched to mosques and societies through the Iranian embassy in Rome.

In its 15 February 1984 edition, the British paper SUNDAY TIMES reported that Italian Prime Minister Craxi ordered an investigation of the activities of the Iranian embassy in Rome.

It is known that several Iranian diplomats were deported from Italy following this investigation.

Income From Persian Rugs

The revenues of several Persian rug dealers, which opened in many European cities and which were abruptly closed down, were also used for the Islamic revolution.

It is known that the "Islamic Cultural Society" in Paris operates several Persian rug stores on the Champs Elysees.

A former official of the Islamic Industry Bank has disclosed that 4 million pounds sterling were deposited in the London branch of the bank to be used by the supporters of the Iranian revolution in Europe.

The French police has seized propaganda material related to the Islamic revolution in luxury apartments inhabited by Iranians.

The French police determined that the propaganda for Islamic revolution was run in France by Khomeyni's nephew Mosound Hindi and deported him in 1985.

The person who visits and speaks to Turkish workers and students in Europe on behalf of the Iranian revolution is a Turk.

His name is Mehmet Samet Karsi.

It is known that Karsi delivered speeches in mosques and societies in Geneva, Zurich and Lausanne in 1985.

Propaganda requires money, and the source of the money is evident. The source of the money is far too evident.

[4 Mar 87 p 13]

[Text] Atabak St., Ferdowsi Ave., Tehran, Iran.

This is where the Turkish edition of KAYHAN, the press organ of the Islamic Republic of Iran, is printed.

This center is controlled by the Ministry of Islamic Guidance. There, Turks work side by side with Iranians. At this center, the Iranian government produces propaganda directed at Turks. After being printed at this center, KAYHAN is sent to its office in Frankfurt. From there, copies are sent to all Turkish mosques and societies in European countries.

The selling price of the monthly publication is DM 1 in the FRG.

KAYHAN is distributed to mosques and societies without charge. Thus the more copies of KAYHAN a society sells the more money it earns.

If it sells 10,000 copies, it earns DM 10,000.

If it sells 20,000 copies, it earns DM 20,000.

If it sells 100,000 copies, it earns DM 100,000.

KAYHAN is not the only publication financed and distributed by the Ministry of Islamic Guidance.

There is also ISLAMIN CAGRISI.

Khomeyni's Press Organ

ISLAMIN CAGRISI has been Khomeyni's press organ since 1976.

The Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran is also controlled by the same ministry. Pro-Iranian groups in Europe derive income from these publications.

They also earn money from the sale of audiocassettes and videocassettes.

The audiocassettes and videocassettes are distributed in Europe through the Iranian embassy in Rome.

These are distributed to Turks for free by the Ministry of Islamic Guidance.

Khomeyni's speeches are translated into Turkish in Berlin and distributed to Turks.

Like Kaplan Hoja's cassettes these are also sold for money.

The donation is DM 25.

Can Kaplan Hoja remain idle? Of course not.

He, too, publishes a magazine. Is a magazine enough?

Of course not.

The Hoja immediately sets to work to establish the "Tebliğ Publishing House."

Questions Stole Youth's Faith

It is this organization which publishes Kaplan's books and booklets. The best-selling books by Tebliğ Publishing House are not Kaplan Hoja's letters of communication.

Which ones are they?

Emine Senlikoglu's book entitled "They Stole the Youth's Faith with Questions."

The first page of the book says:

"This is prohibited in Turkey."

The place the book was printed: Neusser Str. 95, Köln 1.

"Aid to Afghanistan" is also a major source of revenue for pro-Iranian groups.

The money collected is deposited in Cemalettin Kaplan's personal account.

Kaplan Hoja has bank accounts in the FRG as well as in other European countries.

The accounts are all personal. They are all in Kaplan's name.

The Rabobank account Oss 180 405 984 in Holland is in Kaplan's name.

Membership dues, 2.5-percent withholdings, book and calendar revenues, subscription fees for TEBLIG are all deposited in this account.

Of course, a reporter cannot examine these accounts. How many million marks are in these accounts?

Who deposits money in these accounts?

Is any money transferred from any bank in Tehran?

These questions remain unanswered.

What is known is a report in the English-language edition of KAYHAN on 10 June 1984 disclosing that the Islamic Republic of Iran dedicated a new \$30-million fund for Islamic organizations in Europe.

The visible legal income of religious organizations consists of membership dues, donations and revenues from the sale of books, magazines and cassettes.

The visible legal sources of income of religious organizations.

Religious books are sold in mosques, societies and bookstores.

It is very easy to find religious and religious-oriented political books in the Islamische Bibliothek in Koln, the Haus Des Islam in Lutzelbach/Odenwald, the Islamisches Zentrum in Aachen and Munich and the Islamic Federation in Berlin.

Every mosque has a small bookstore.

The Mevlana Mosque in Berlin and the Central Mosque in Hamburg have fairly large book sale areas.

They sell cassettes, books and magazines.

In Berlin, the Islamic Federation and the "Islamic Foundation" have strong links with each other. They were founded by the same people.

The Islamic Federation has established the "School of Islamic Studies."

It has also appointed a director:

Mehmet Erol.

Beside the School of Islamic Studies, the Islamic Federation operates another religious school called the "Academy of Islamic Studies."

Of course, there are also the Koranic courses.

The tuition fees paid by students studying in Koranic courses, schools and academies constitute another source of income for the Islamic organizations.

Who Is in Islamic Federation?

The "Islamic Federation," as its name suggests, is made up of representatives from various Islamic countries. In other words, it is not an organization set up by Turks. Its membership includes Jordanians, Pakistanis, Iranians and even German Muslims.

For example, the president of the Iranian Islamic Student Society, Taki Ansarian.

The president of the Muslim Association of Berlin, Derdan Marassshade.

The president of the Islamic Student Society, Shaladi.

The president of the Islamic Student Movements, Ikram Alikhan Ghorl.

Ghorl is a Pakistani.

Do the Islamic governments provide financial assistance to organizations formed by Iranian and Pakistani students?

Naturally, they would.

It is known that in 1986 alone the Iranian government set aside \$30 million for Islamic organizations in various countries.

Of course, revenues derived from the sale of advertisements in Islamic magazines and newspapers constitute another source of income.

Full-page Advertisements by Tekaful

For example, the Luxembourg-based Islamic Tekaful Corporation—about which we will learn more later on—places advertisements in MILLI GAZETE.

It does that on a continual basis.

Most of the time these are full-page advertisements.

The Islamic Tekaful Corporation sometimes participates in MILLI GAZETE's fund-raising campaigns.

One can also see posters promoting the Islamic Tekaful Corporation on the walls of virtually all mosques.

They can, for example, be seen in the mosque operated by the Religious Affairs Chairmanship in Koln.

They can also be seen in the Mevlana Mosque operated by the National View in Berlin.

Advertising in press organs has the effect of providing financial assistance to these press organs and the organizations they are affiliated with.

One person who gains substantially from this assistance is a Dutchman.

A Dutch Suleymanist

Yes, a Dutchman.

His name is Abdulvahid von Bommel.

A Dutch Muslim.

A Dutchman affiliated with the "Suleymanist" wing of Islam.

These things happen.

This Dutch Muslim publishes a journal called QIBLAH.

The journal is published in the Dutch capital, the Hague.

This "Dutch Suleymanist" is also the director of the "Muslim Informatie Centrum."

The address of the organization is: Beklaan 207, Postbus 61217 Ae Den Haag.

One major corporation which places full-page advertisements in the journal of this "Dutch Suleymanist" is Pakistan Airways.

That is the national airline of the Islamist Pakistani government.

Other advertisers are: The "Al-Nisa Foundation," that is the Islamic Women's Foundation of Holland; a joint Christian-Muslim organizations called Focus; another Pakistani corporation; several other Pakistani companies and organizations.

Von Bommel participates in all Islamist meetings in Holland.

Good Relations with Libya, Iran

Business is good for this Dutchman who is said to be occasionally "pro-Libyan" and occasionally "pro-Iranian."

He has close ties with the Libyan and the Iranian ambassadors. In fact, he has intimately close ties with them.

Von Bommel has become one of the key figures of the Islamic internationalism in Europe.

He is often in Libya or Iran.

Then, sometimes, he is seen with Turks in the Hague, Berlin, Koln and Belgium.

Von Bommel has become the name of a bridge between Islamic organizations in Europe and Islamic states.

Why does he do all this?

Perhaps to please God.

His journal carries articles such as a study on Suleyman Hilmi Tunahan, the founder of the Suleymanist movement.

Von Bommel's earnings from advertisements placed in his journal by Pakistani state-owned corporations are so high that they could be considered governmental assistance. An article in his journal entitled "Korte Inleiding Tot De Geschiedenis Van Turkije" examines Turkey's ethnic composition.

The Dutch Suleymanist is for some reason very closely interested in Turkey's ethnic composition.

Why?

It must be for God.

What else can it be?

Government Aid in Belgium, Holland

Governments in Belgium and Holland have helped the spread of Islamist movements.

After the oil crisis of 1974, the Belgian government gave Islam the status of "state-recognized religion" in order to appease Saudi Arabia.

Since then, the Saudis have assumed control of Islamic movements and organizations.

The "Islamic Cultural Center," located on one of the busiest avenues of Brussels, is the center of Saudi-backed Islamic organizations not only in Belgium, but in all of Europe.

The Islamic Cultural Center is modeled after the renowned Al-Azhar Mosque in Cairo.

The Islamic Cultural Center was built under the direction of the Saudi Arabian government.

The Turkish ambassador to Belgium is among the founders of the Center. Other founders are Pakistan, Morocco and Tunisia.

The director and the head imam of the Islamic Cultural Center is Abdullah Al-Ahdal. Asked "what the income source of the center is," he replies:

"Rabita." That is, by its full name, "Rabitat-ul Alem-ul Islam."

"All our expenses are paid for by the Rabita organization."

"What is the constitution of the administration?"

"The ambassadors of five Islamic countries sit on the administrative council of the Islamic Cultural Center."

"How many members does the administrative council have?"

"Nine members."

"Who are the others?"

"The others are representatives of the Rabita organization."

"Who else?"

"And myself."

"Are you related to the Rabita organization?"

"I am also Rabita's representative in Europe."

"Do you know anyone from our [Turkish] Religious Affairs Chairmanship?"

"Yes."

"Whom do you know, for example?"

"I know Altikulac, Tayyar Altikulac."

"Who else?"

"I know many of them."

Beside Belgium, the Rabita organization has branches in Sweden and Britain.

Rabita Is Everywhere

The Rabita organization provides assistance to mosques—naturally through the Islamic Cultural Center.

It helps Islamic societies.

It provides aid to press organs, individuals and organizations.

Beside the Rabita organization, the Islamic Cultural Center works closely with several other Saudi-backed Islamic organizations.

Among them, the "World Muslim Minorities Committee" headed by Khalid Sabir; the "Council of Mosques" headed by Hasan al-Ahdah; the "Islamic Solidarity Committee" headed by Dr Masjit Katme.

Other London-based religious organizations which work closely with the Islamic Cultural Center include the "Internal Faith Commission" headed by Brian Pearce and the "Interracial Equality Commission" headed by Manvit Dholakia.

There are several other large and small Islamist organizations.

Although the largest, the richest and the most powerful of them is the Rabita organization.

This is the "leader organization." No other Islamic organization is richer than the Rabita.

As we will see later on, this organization is richer than even some governments.

The English name of the Rabita organization is "Muslim World League."

Its address in London is:

46 Goodge Street, London W1.

The London office of the organization employs a Turk: Dr Selim Has.

Dr Has is the deputy director of the office.

He is evidently liked and respected.

Head Imam Al-Ahdal says:

"There are 155 mosques in Belgium. We control all of them."

A Mosque Built by Two Kings

The mosque in the Islamic Cultural Center in Brussels is truly impressive.

The Saudi monarchy paid for its construction.

The King of Belgium donated the land it was built on.

It is an impressive structure enclosed by a large garden. The mosque is on the upper level of the structure.

The crystal chandelier in the mosque is dazzling.

Imagine a circle with a radius of 40 meters. That is how big the gleaming crystal chandelier is. It was donated to the mosque by the King of Saudi Arabia.

The rugs and the colorful enameling on the windows are similarly dazzling.

Most of what we refer to as "mosques" in the FRG are only as large as what we call "masjits" in Turkey. Moreover, they have no minarets.

Most of them are small and large masjits with no minarets.

We were told that there is no "favorable legislation" for building masjits with minarets.

Only the mosque in Munich has a minaret.

And that mosque was built by the Saudis.

As in all other issues, the Saudis are given special privileges on this matter as well. Their say in Western capitals is as influential as their oil wells.

[Box p 13] Divine Mercy, Wrath on Video

The National View companies can be identified in the FRG edition of MILLI GAZETE. They advertise there frequently.

I also researched the files of the Berlin Chamber of Industry and Commerce (Industrie und Handelskammer).

Companies like "Helal Gida [Kosher Food]," whose advertisements are often seen in MILLI GAZETE, are recorded in their register.

Hilal Et [Crescent Meat].

Its managing director is Hilmi Gul.

Helal Gida.

Its managing director is Suleyman Turkeyilmaz.

National View Videos

One of National View's sources of income is the video companies.

"The National View Video Center, Postfach 600925, 5000 Koln."

Another video company: "Islamic Video Company, Tel: (221)-766979, 768-8382."

Its address, "Neusser Str. 356 Koln" is also the address of the "National View Organizations of Europe."

The National View has two principal press organs.

One of them is MILLI GAZETE.

MILLI GAZETE is published by "Yeni Nesriyat A.S."

One of members of its board of directors is Hazim Oktay Beser.

The owner of MILLI GAZETE, Osman Yumakoglu, is also the leader of the National View Organizations of Europe.

The magazine HICRET is published in Koln.

Its address is: "Islamisches Zentrum Koln, E.V., Neusser Str. 177, 5000 Koln 60."

The National View organization also operates preacher schools in the FRG.

The largest mosque in Berlin is the Mevlana Mosque.

It is controlled by the National View.

The mosque is surrounded by a plaza of stores called the Misir [Egyptian] Market.

The shopkeepers in the Misir Market probably donate some of their earnings to their organization.

[5 Mar 87 p 13]

[Text] The "Islamic Cultural Centers" is an Islamist organization controlled by the Saudis.

The "Federation of Turkish-Islamic Cultural Societies" is another religious organization established in Holland in 1979.

Its leader is a native of Siirt who was educated in Izmir.

His name is Ibrahim Goren.

Goren has excellent ties with Dutch officials as well as the Turkish government.

'Kaplan Hoja Cannot Come Here'

Goren says: "We support the government."

He says: "We have neither Suleymanists, nor members of the National View nor Idealists in our ranks."

He adds: "Kaplan Hoja cannot come here."

Almost all Turks in Holland know Goren who has lived in that country for nearly 25 years.

Goren is married to a Dutch woman.

In addition to serving as the leader of the Federation of Turkish-Islamic Cultural Societies, Goren is the director general of the "Islamic Radio of Holland" which has been broadcasting since 1981.

As in Belgium, Islam is a state-recognized religion in Holland. As a result, the government provides facilities for Islamic radio stations.

The local government has provided to the Islamic Radio of Holland a villa which looks like the old Erenkoy mansions.

I ask [Goren]: "What topics do your broadcasts feature?"

He replies: "Religious topics."

"What about political issues?"

"We stay away from politics."

"Do you not have any ties at all?"

"As the federation and the radio we have no ties."

Of course, as individuals political ties exist.

I catch a glimpse of a signed photograph of former prime minister Suleyman Demirel.

That is quite normal.

For some time, Goren worked as a journalist.

"Did you work for TERCUMAN?"

"Yes, for some time."

Goren is one of the travelers to Saudi Arabia.

He says: "I went there at the invitation of the Rabita organization."

Relations with Rabita

As is seen, the Rabita organization exerts considerable influence on Islamist movements in Europe.

It is the most powerful, most extensive and the richest organization.

We will know this organization more closely later on.

Is there a relationship between the Saudi-controlled petroleum company, Aramco, the Rabita organization, the Faisal Finance Corporation, the Al Baraka Turk Finance Corporation and the Tekaful Finance Corporation?

If there is, what are its political ramifications?

Before trying to answer these questions, let us examine the endless conflict between the Suleymanist movement and the Religious Affairs Chairmanship and review the Suleymanist organizations abroad.

Let us see if there is or has been a relationship between the Suleymanists and Freemasons.

What is "Suleymanism"? Is it a cult? If so, what sect do the Suleymanists represent? Who are they? Why is former JP parliamentary deputy Kemal Kacar so reverently spoken about in the "Islamic Cultural Centers" in Europe?

We called the headquarters of the "Islamic Cultural Center" in Koln and asked to interview Necdet Demirgulle who is known as a "Suleymanist."

He did not wish to come to a face-to-face interview.

He wanted the questions submitted in written form.

I wrote down the questions and sent them to him.

The envelope that came from Necdet Demirgulle, the leader of the Suleymanists in the FRG contained a brief history of the life of the founder of the movement, Suleyman Hilmi Tunahan, and documents related to other questions.

Who Is Suleyman Hilmi Tunahan?

According to the statement sent on behalf of the Islamic Cultural Centers in Europe, Suleyman Hilmi Tuhahan was born in the village of Ferhatlar in Silistre in 1884.

Turhan received his primary education in the Satirli theological school and the Silistre high school. Later he registered in the Sahn theological school in Istanbul and was instructed by Ahmed Hamdi Efendi of Bafra, a Fatih lecturer and one of the leading scholars of the time.

After completing his "theological specialization" at the Suleymaniye theological school in 1919, Tunahan graduated from the School of Theological Law the same year.

After graduating from these schools, Tunahan first served as a "theological school lecturer" in Istanbul. When the theological school was shut down, he served as a preacher in the mosques of Sultanahmet, Suleymaniye, Yeni Cami, Sehzadebasi and Kasimpasa.

He taught in Koranic schools which were opened by government decree in 1949.

According to the statement, Tuhahan was a "Hanafi by deed, a Maturidi by conviction and a Nakshibendi by temperament."

Hanafi Sect

What do all these mean? Let us explain briefly:

Hanafiism is one of the four large Islamic sects. The others are Malikiism, Safiism and Hanbaliism.

Hanafiism was founded by Numan Bin Zabit Bin Zuta, who is also known as "Abu Hanifa."

Known as the "Exalted Imam," Abu Hanifa believed that on issues of knowledge and faith, first the Koran and then the Prophet's sayings and traditions must be consulted.

On issues which are difficult to resolve, Abu Hanifa used a method known as "ijma." "Ijma" means a consensus reached by Islamic scholars over disputed issues.

For this reason, the followers of the Exalted Imam are known as "persons of judgement."

The Exalted Imam, Abu Hanifa, lived in Iraq and earned his living through trade.

The Exalted Imam, who died in 805 AD, is known as the founder of the Hanafi sect in the Islamic world. Hanafiism, which was the official religion of the Abbasid empire, is the most widely accepted form of Islam among Turks.

The statement says that Tunahan was a "Hanafi by deed" but a "Maturidi by conviction."

What does "Maturidi" mean?

Maturidiism is a Sunni sect which was founded by Abu Mansur Muhammad al-Maturidi who was born in the "Maturid" quarter of Samarkand in the 10th century.

The Maturidis say that they are followers of the Exalted Imam.

What does "Nakshibendi by temperament" mean?

Nakshibendism is also a Sunni sect. Founded and spread by Muhammad Bahuddin Nakshibend in the 14th century, Nakshibendism is a sect which is chosen and practiced by extremely devout Muslims.

A special ceremony is required to be inducted into Nakshibendism. A believer who wishes to be inducted into this sect must first petition the sheik. He kisses the sheik's hand and the sheik, in return, touches the believer's tooth

and prays. Then he tells the believer to count 5,000 beads on his string of prayer beads.

The name of "Allah" is invoked at every breath. Nakshibendis hold "litany ceremonies."

We can say that Nakshibendism is a sect which only the devoutest Muslims choose.

From all these, it appears that Tunahan was:

A Sunni, a Hanafi, a Maturidi and a Nakshibendi.

What Is Suleymanism?

So then, what is "Suleymanism"?

According to the Islamic Cultural Center, Suleymanism is "neither a religion, nor a sect nor a cult."

Then what is it?

Once again, according to the Islamic Cultural Center, "when the late Suleyman Hilmi Tunahan was alive, the term 'Suleymanism' did not exist.

"Such a term was unheard of. The said term came into usage after about 9 to 10 years after Suleyman Hilmi Tunahan's death. During his lifetime, this man, who died at the age of 71, did not tell or suggest to anyone any of the alleged absurdities. Moreover, there are no books, letters, audiocassettes or other evidence to justify the attribution of this term to this person."

If so, where did this label of "Suleymanism" come from?

The explanation of the Islamic Cultural Center on this issue is as follows:

"The term 'Suleymanism' is a term invented and propagated by some officials of the Religious Affairs Chairmanship out of certain motives."

The statement was sent to our paper on behalf of Tunahan's family by Tunahan's sons-in-law Kemal Kacar and Kamil Denizolgun and his daughter, Ferhan Denizolgun. The statement responds to charges about Suleymanism as follows:

List of Slander

—The charge that they have established and are propagating a cult named Suleymanism is slanderous.

—The charge that they are working within a theocratic system is slanderous.

—The charge that they are opposed to women's education is slanderous.

—The charge that they are opposed to Ataturk and Ataturk's principles is slanderous.

—The charge that they are running activities against imam-preacher schools is slanderous.

—The charge that they promote activities against secularism is slanderous.

—The charge that they worship their master and that they believe he has not died is slanderous.

—The charge that they call everyone other than themselves "infidels" is slanderous.

—The charge that Suleyman Effendi was engaged in treasure hunting [definecilik] is a lie.

—The charge that Suleyman Effendi designated his son-in-law Kemal Kacar as the caliph is a lie.

—The charge that Suleyman Effendi's license to preach was revoked is a lie.

—The charge that they have established student dormitories in remote areas to escape public attention is a lie.

—The charge that they will cut up everyone who differs with them is a preposterous slander.

The same statement insists that "neither Suleyman Effendi nor his disciples" were convicted of antiseccular activities in any court.

The statement adds that MIT [National Intelligence Organization], the Security Directorate General, the gendarmes and the prosecutors are being kept unnecessarily busy by "the secret publication and distribution of communiques purportedly issued by Suleyman Effendi and the publication and surreptitious distribution of books filled with slanders and phony names and addresses."

Religious Affairs: Suleymanism Is A Cult

These are the statements issued by Suleyman Hilmi Tunahan's family. How does the Religious Affairs Chairmanship see Suleymanism?

This aspect of the issue must also be examined.

According to the Religious Affairs Chairmanship, "Suleymanism" is a cult.

And the founder and the sheik of the cult is Suleyman Hilmi Tunahan.

Former JP parliamentary deputy Kemal Kacar and former JP deputy from Icel Ali Ak are two of the leading figures of this cult.

Kemal Kacar is Tunahan's son-in-law.

Hilmi Turkmen, a former JP and Democratic Party parliamentary deputy, and Husnu Yilmaz, a former JP deputy from Balikesir are members of this cult.

Huseyin Kaplan, Hasan Arikan, Harun Resit Tuyluoglu and Seyfettin Alkan, all former officials of the Religious Affairs Chairmanship who were dismissed from their posts following investigations, are leading members of the cult.

A report prepared by the Religious Affairs Chairmanship says: "Suleymanists have been collecting substantial sums in donations by exploiting the religious beliefs of citizens working in foreign countries. After using these revenues as they need, they transfer part of it to Turkey."

I asked about this issue to Ali Yuksel, the secretary general of the National View Organizations of Europe:

Suleymanism as Source of Income

"It is said that the Suleymanists are very rich. For example, how does Kemal Kacar earn his living?"

Answer:

"By Suleymanism."

According to the assessments of the Religious Affairs Chairmanship, Suleymanism operates like an "organization."

The leader of this organization is Kemal Kacar.

Suleymanism was organized primarily through Koranic schools in Antalya. Using the "Assistance Societies for Course and School Students" and even sewing schools as fronts, Suleymanism embarked on a battle with the Religious Affairs Chairmanship beginning in 1972.

According to the assessments of the Religious Affairs Chairmanship, Suleymanism was organized through Koranic schools and grew stronger steadily thanks to its political ties.

In the province of Antalya alone, 109 secret religious schools controlled by Suleymanists were discovered. In these schools, 729 books and 386 audiocassettes in Arabic and Turkish were seized. The schools were determined to have 279 teachers and 3,892 students.

Official investigations sponsored by governor's and district offices indicate that the Suleymanists control 867 Koranic schools.

According to statements by Harun Resit Tuyluoglu, who served as the head imam of the Islamic Cultural Center in the FRG, 1,900 Koranic boarding schools--1,600 for boys and 300 for girls--are controlled by the Suleymanists.

Nearly 100,000 students are given religious education in these schools.

These Koranic schools are operated under other names.

Sewing schools.

Rug-weaving courses.

Accounting courses.

According to the Religious Affairs Chairmanship, Suleymanism is run from a single center both at home and abroad.

Their leader is Kemal Kacar.

Most of the cult's leading clergymen are former officials of the Religious Affairs Chairmanship.

Who are they?

Huseyin Kaplan, Mehmet Arikan, Hasan Arikan, Seyfettin Alkan, Lutfi Davran, Mustafa Ozaltin, Huseyin Kumas, Halit Beser, Ismail Sanli, Harun Resit Tuyluoglu, Necati Tosun, Refik Akcaoglu, Mustafa Fehmi Yildirim, Durmus Ali Bagci, Mehmet Emre.

The Religious Affairs Chairmanship says that the Suleymanist movement has a single objective:

"Knocking down the Turkish Republic."

To that end they attempted to gain control of the Religious Affairs Chairmanship.

When they could not do that, they mounted an assault against the Religious Affairs Chairmanship. To achieve their goals, they want to become the "sole authority" on religious matters. That is why they want to gain control of the Religious Affairs Chairmanship.

What must be done to prevent that?

What needed to be done was to transfer the Koranic schools operating under various names to the Treasury.

This is the proposal the Religious Affairs Chairmanship took to the 12 September administration.

The proposal said that acts against the "Unified Education Law, the Societies Law and Law. No. 633" can be prevented only if the ownership of these schools is transferred to the Treasury.

Then who has property rights over these buildings?

A study was conducted to determine the legal owners of the buildings housing the Koranic schools.

Confiscating Property

This study was conducted by inspectors of the Land Registration and Survey Directorate General.

The administrative probe conducted during the 12 September period proceeded along two separate tracks.

Inspectors working for the Religious Affairs Chairmanship and inspectors working for the Land Registration and Survey Directorate General prepared separate reports and submitted them to the relevant authorities.

The measures proposed?

The proposed measure was to seize the property of the Suleymanists.

That was their proposal.

That was their proposal but the military authorities of the time did not implement it. The Ulusu government did not--could not--take any steps on this issue.

Instead, it was decided to open criminal proceedings against these schools.

A criminal lawsuit was filed in Antalya against Kemal Kacar and his colleagues.

In the trial, Kacar was acquitted.

The decision of the military authorities and the Ulusu government to turn down the Religious Affairs Chairmanship proposal "to seize the Suleymanists' Koranic schools and to transfer their property to the Treasury" led to different interpretations in different quarters.

One of the interpretations was "that the government wanted to avoid the opposition of the Suleymanists in the referendum on the Constitution."

Does that interpretation mirror the truth?

At this stage it is difficult--more exactly impossible--to make a clear judgement on that issue. But the outcome is clear. The reports prepared by the Religious Affairs Chairmanship and the Land Registration and Survey Directorate General are in the government archives. The report prepared by four Religious Affairs Directorate inspectors calls for "the transfer of the schools to the Treasury."

The report prepared by the inspectors of the Land Registration and Survey Directorate General are currently locked up in a safe at the said Directorate General.

The views of the Religious Affairs Chairmanship on Suleymanism can be summarized as follows:

"A Suleymanist organization which was founded by Suleyman Hilmi Tunahan and which was expanded and is currently run by former JP deputy Kemal Kacar has organizations in and outside Turkey.

Suleymanists' Goals

"It has been determined that the members of this organization are engaged in activities which include:

- "a) Expressing hostility against Ataturk's principles and reforms;
- "b) Joining an organization which can be characterized as an un-Islamic cult.
- "c) Engaging in religious-oriented politics in a parliamentary regime;
- "d) Teaching distorted and illegal religious education;
- "e) Declaring a war against the Religious Affairs Chairmanship which is a state organization;
- "f) Promoting discord by declaring those who do not support them as "infidels."
- "g) Expanding their property holdings by using donations from the people;
- "h) Placing their people in key positions in public agencies."

[Box p 13] Suleymanists' Leadership

According to the assessments of the Religious Affairs Chairmanship the leadership of the Suleymanist cult consists of the following persons:

Kemal Kacar (former JP deputy), Suleyman Mira, Mehmet Sisman (regional representative in Antalya), Nuri Temizerler (regional inspector), Huseyin Kaplan (regional representative for Istanbul-Kutahya), Mahmut Bilgin (representative in the Adana region), Ahmet Aygin, Osman Karacoglu, Osman Naz (representative in the Adapazari region), Lutfu Davran, Necati Tosun (representative in the Ankara region), Seyfettin Alkan (representative in the Istanbul region), Remzi Cengiz (former mufti of Kumluca), Mehmet Topaloglu (former mufti of Serik), D. Ali Bagci (former mufti of Gundogmus), Ali Fidanci, Erdogan Turgut and Harun Resit Tuyluoglu.

[6 Mar 87 p 6]

[Text] The Religious Affairs Chairmanship's file on Suleyman Hilmi Tunahan is numbered 389.

The view of the Religious Affairs Chairmanship with regard to Tunahan and "Suleymanism" can be summarized as follows:

"Suleymanism is a cult. This cult is opposed to the training of clergymen by the state. Consequently, they have founded their own Koranic schools and have acted in along that course."

Tunahan's two sons-in-law and daughter say:

"No, Suleymanism is not a cult."

According to the file compiled by the Religious Affairs Chairmanship on Tunahan's person, he was dismissed from his position at the "Primary Theological School" following the enactment of the "Unified Education Law."

After being dismissed as a young "lecturer" in 1924, Tunahan was transferred to the Religious Affairs Chairmanship.

Treasure Hunter, Gas Dealer

The file on Tunahan says that between 1924 and 1930 he was engaged in "treasure hunting" and worked as a "gas and State Monopolies dealer."

Tunahan's family insists that he was not engaged in treasure hunting.

According to the information given to the Religious Affairs Chairmanship, Tunahan engaged in treasure hunting in the villages of Kabakca and Canakca in the Catalca district.

In the process, Tunahan met Hilmi Deliorman, the imam of Kabakca, and opened a grocery store near the Kabakca train station in partnership with him.

Having had good fortune with their business, Tunahan and Deliorman later took on another partner: Haci Omer.

The information that the Religious Affairs Chairmanship has does not end here.

Let us try to summarize that information:

"Beside their grocery business, Tunahan and Deliorman bought the dealership of a Soviet kerosene firm."

The Soviet firm is called "Neft Sandikat."

While acting as the principal dealer of the Soviet firm in the Thrace, Tunahan applied for a State Monopolies dealership.

Soviet Firm Representative

While "importing" goods into the country through his links with the Soviet oil trade firm, "Neft Sandikat," Tunahan exported brooms to Bulgaria.

"Peren brand" brooms were reportedly bartered in exchange for Bulgarian gas and salt.

The kerosene bought from the Soviet firm was reportedly stored in the village of "Uyduruk" in Beykoz, Istanbul.

Tunahan was responsible for transporting the kerosene.

This is how Tunahan met Kemal Kacar's father, Halil Kacar.

Halil Kacar was the owner of the "Antalya Shipping Warehouse."

After doing not too well in this business, Tunahan began operating the Deli Halit Pasa Ranch near the village of Kabakca.

However, he did not do too well in that business either.

By this time it was 1930. Having scored little success in business, Tunahan asked the Mufti of Istanbul, Hasan Fehmi Bey, for a preaching position and returned to religious work.

With his return to preaching, Tunahan's circle began to grow.

Sermons Begin

This time, his circle included Bekir Haki Yener, the Mufti of Eminonu. Through Yener, he met "the President of the Council of Sheiks, Esat Effendi," in Sehremeni-Tatlikuyu in Istanbul.

While preaching at the Mecidiyekoy Mosque, Tunahan began a religious discourse with "Osman Baba" who sold cooked eggs at the Ayasofya Mosque and thus began expanding his circle.

Mirza Effendi who sold prayer beads in front of Beyazit Mosque also joined these circles.

According to one rumor, Tunahan's sheik is this "Bead-seller Mirza Effendi." According to another rumor it is "Mevlana Selahattin Sirecuddin.."

It is known that Tunahan preached in mosques from 1930 through 1934. According to information given to the Religious Affairs Chairmanship, Tunahan's license to preach was revoked in 1934.

Return to Trade

So what could Tunahan do? He returned to trade.

This time he began trading coal and wood.

While buying and selling coal and wood in partnership with Mustafa Doganbey, the owner of the Konya Lezzet Restaurant, and Selahattin Bey, the preacher of the Valide Mosque, Tunahan, on the side, trained students at the boathouse of the Sehjade Mosque.

Some of Tunahan's first students were Refik Akcalioglu, Mustafa Cirpanli, Ali Terzi and Akif Tarhan.

Akcalioglu served as the Mufti of Sinop, while Cirpanli served in the same position in Izmir.

Akif Tarhan preached at the Hobyer Mosque in Istanbul.

Another student of Tunahan's was Hilmi Turkmen.

Turkmen served as the JP parliamentary deputy from Icel and later joined the founders of the Democratic Party.

Tunahan's Disciples

Other well-known students of Tunahan's include Huseyin Kaplan, Mehmet Arikan and Seyfettin Alkan.

Other disciples of Tunahan were Ihsan Gokdeniz, Corapci [stocking-seller] Mustafa and Arnavut [Albanian] Mustafa.

This last group broke with Tunahan's circle for a special reason. Training students at the Koranic school in Kisikli, Uskudar, Tunahan assigned his students to mosques.

From information gathered by the Religious Affairs Chairmanship we learn that, beside Mustafa Doganbey, the owner of the Konya Lezzet Restaurant, Tunahan had close ties with two other businessmen: Suleyman Kusculu and Mehmet Uretmen.

Directing religious gatherings at the Koranic school in Kisikli, Uskudar, and Mustafa Doganbey's mansion in Kucuk Camlica, Tunahan gained fame in religious circles for his sermons and died at 6:50 pm on 16 September 1959.

The vacuum created by the death of Tunahan, who was also a registered member of Osman Bolukbasi's Nation Party, was for a while filled by a "collective administration."

This "collective leadership" incorporated Tunahan's son-in-law Kemal Kacar, Huseyin Kaplan, Mehmet Arikan and Seyfettin Alkan.

Other leading figures in the administration were:

Lutfi Davran, Mustafa Ozaltin, Mustafa Cirpanli, Huseyin Kumas, Halit Baser, Ismail Sanli, Harun Resit Tuyluoglu, Necati Tosun, Hasan Arikan, Hilmi Turkmen, Refik Akcalioglu, Mustafa Fehmi Yildirim, Durmus Ali Bagci, Husnu Yilmaz and Mehmet Emre.

Tunahan reportedly used a method called "rabita [congruity]" in religious matters.

'Rabita' Method

This is said to be the method used by his disciples.

What is this method?

First the believer takes ablution. Then he recites Ihlas Sura three times and the opening chapter of the Koran [Fatiha] once dedicates them to the "descendants of the Prophet" and the soul of Suleyman Hilmi Tunahan.

Then the "Al-Imran Sura" is recited.

God's forgiveness is asked seven times. Then the "Ahzap Sura" is recited.

That is followed by a recitation of the "prayer for the sage" and a re-recitation of the last verse of the "Al-Imran Sura."

Later the disciple goes to the Fatih Mosque in Istanbul and hollers: "Grant permission, Holy One."

The sheik waits in the mosque. His hands must be kissed.

Supposedly, a man's "concupiscence" resides between his eyebrows; the sheik's knee touches the disciple's knee.

The sheik then draws a "weakening line" from the midpoint of the disciple's eyebrows to his heart.

This is what is known as "rabita."

The "rabita" may take between 15 and 45 minutes.

During that time, breathing is supposed to stop and eyes must be shut.

If, in this position, the disciple can turn his tongue five times in his mouth touching his palate, he can purportedly hear his heart beat as "Allah, Allah."

At this stage the disciple is in a state known as "graced by God."

At each state, 500 "zikrs" [litanies of praise to God] are performed.

From One State to Another

After each set of "zikrs" the disciple "rises from one state to another."

The "rabita" is initially supposed to be performed at the "level of the heart." Then one is supposed to pass "from the heart to the soul."

Then one is said to pass into the "mystical" and then into the "hefiye [meaning unknown]."

"Alem [the universe]" is supposed to consist of three parts.

The first is Alem-i Sugra [the lesser world].

Alem-i Sugra is said to be humanity. In this "world" man exists in seven "states."

The second part is the "Alem-i Sugra" [as published].

"Alem-i Sugra" is supposed to mean seven levels of time.

The third part is the "Alem-i Ulya [world of highest heaven]."

The border between these two last parts is called the "Sidre-i Muntana [lotus tree in seventh heaven" which, it is said, cannot be passed even by angels.

However, the angels are said to be able to use the hearts of the "Men of Rabita" like binoculars and observe the "Alem-i Ulya."

Contact Between Alems

A link, or in modern terminology communications, is said to exist between the "Alem-i Sugra" and the "Alem-i Ulya."

"Alem-i Ulya" is said to have the same "five divine graces" which exist in the "Alem-i Sugra."

This "alem" is said to be just like a telegraph system. Both parts have transmitters and receivers.

The "man of Rabita" establishes contact with this "alem" by these communication means.

The reality of everything exists in the "Alem-i Emir [world of unconditional existence]." Beyond "Alem-i Emir" there is the "Alem-i Vucut [world of bodily existence]."

According to the Religious Affairs Chairmanship, the Suleymanists see "rabita" like a "light" or "electricity."

"The number of Suleymanist societies—which have Koranic schools everywhere in Turkey—is 835. This number does not include the dormitories and schools operating under various names."

The schools and buildings which the inspectors of the Religious Affairs Chairmanship recommended to be "seized by the Treasury" are valued at billions of Turkish lira.

According to Harun Resid Tuyluoglu, the former head imam of the Islamic Cultural Centers, the societies controlled by the Suleymanists in Europe number about 170.

According to Abdulkadir Polat, the secretary general of the Islamic Cultural Centers, the number of Suleymanist societies, which expanded their activities in the 1980's, has reached 270.

Most of the Islamic Cultural Centers which multiplied after 12 September 1980, are in the FRG. There are "Islamic Cultural Center" branches in Sweden, Holland, Denmark, Vienna and Switzerland.

Suleymanists' Sources of Income

Where do the Suleymanists get their money from?

From the sale of the skins of the sacrificed animals.

From donations by wealthy individuals.

From society membership dues.

From publications--books, booklets, calendars--printed by the "Fazilet [Virtue] Publishing House."

From revenues earned through the Osmanli Publishing House.

From revenues earned by "Suleymanist" company owners.

From dues collected from Turks who congregate around the "Islamic Cultural Centers" overseas.

The Suleymanists are known to be the most influential, the best organized and the wealthiest religious movement abroad.

Before 12 September, Kemal Kacar would attend Council of Europe meetings as a JP parliamentary deputy and would be greeted by Muslims riding in Mercedes cars.

The area of specialty of Kacar, a high-school graduate, is described in the TGNA [Turkish Grand National Assembly] register as follows:

"Principles of the Islamic religion, trade."

Ali Ak, the president of the Federation of Assistance Societies for Course and School Students and former JP parliamentary deputy from Icel, has written a book to discredit the information used to prosecute him. Even the book's title is as long as an article.

Ak's Efforts to Acquit Himself

The book's title reads:

"How was the concoction about Suleymanism and the communique entitled 'Principles We Must Believe In'--which contains the vilest slanders--prepared with a sensationalist air and how was it distributed inside and outside the country? How was it inserted into court files and official documents?"

In his book, Ali Ak says that lawsuits were filed against societies affiliated with various federations and claims that MIT and the Ministry of Interior sent

official information and documents to the trials and that one of these documents, the report entitled "Principles We Must Believe In" is a fabrication.

Stating that "that communique is not ours," Ak recounts a meeting between himself and former Minister of State Mehmet Ozgunes.

According to Ak, Ozgunes said on this issue:

"Yes. I did some research on that communique. The communique is not related to either the late Suleyman Hilmi Tunahan's relatives or his students. That communique was fabricated by Yasar Tunagur, the deputy chairman of Religious Affairs between 1965 and 1971, and was secretly circulated among certain officials of the Religious Affairs Chairmanship. This is how it was recorded in official government archives."

[8 Mar 87 p 6]

[Text] If the person the Suleymanists are most irritated with in Turkey is former Religious Affairs Chairman Tayyar Altikulac, then his counterpart in the FRG is Mete Aksu.

Mete Aksu is a Turkish unionist who works at the German Trade Union Federation, known by its initials DGB.

Aksu is known as the man who blocked a bid by the "Islamic Cultural Center" in Koln in 1979 to gain the status of a "public service organization" and the privileges that come with that status.

Because of that, individuals and circles known as "Suleymanists" are infuriated by Aksu.

From their viewpoint, their anger is justified.

What were the causes of the conflict between the "Islamic Cultural Centers" and Mete Aksu?

Let us summarize them:

In April 1979, the "Islamic Cultural Centers" sent a memorandum to the Minister of Culture of the state of North Rhine-Wesphalia suggesting that he consult with the "Islamic Cultural Centers with regard to the religious problems of Muslim children."

The "Suleymanist" movement was thus taking a major step forward in its relations in the FRG.

What Would Islamic Cultural Centers Gain?

At that time, the Religious Affairs Chairmanship did not yet have an overseas organization. As a result, the Islamic Cultural Centers was making a bid to become the representative of Muslims in the FRG.

What privileges and easements would such a status give to the Islamic Cultural Centers?

1. The Islamic Cultural Centers, whose "moral leader" is Kemal Kacar, would be directly given the right to "represent Islam" in the state of North Rhine-Westphalia.
2. Legally the Islamic Cultural Centers would have the same standing as the Catholic and the Protestant church.
3. If the Islamic Cultural Centers were given the status of "public service organization" it would receive financial assistance from the FRG government.
4. The Islamic Cultural Centers would assume social responsibilities that churches discharge in Christian communities.
5. Had this proposal been approved, the Islamic Cultural Centers would have the right to collect taxes from Muslim citizens, just like the "church tax" churches collect from Christians.
6. If the Islamic Cultural Centers were given the rights they wanted in North Rhine-Westphalia, their influence would increase in other German states.
7. If this right of representation was given to the Islamic Cultural Centers, no other Islamic organization, including the Religious Affairs Chairmanship, would be able to obtain that right.

Still remembering the blow they received from the Koranic Schools Code enacted in 1971, the Suleymanists thus wanted to take "revenge" in the FRG.

In applying for these rights, the Islamic Cultural Centers also won some major support from another quarter.

Freemason-Suleymanist Solidarity

The Grand Masonic Lodge of Germany!

This surprising support came in letter dated 27 February 1979 from the Grand Masonic Lodge of Germany to the Premier of North Rhine-Westphalia, Johannes Rau.

Suleymanism and Freemasonry. One would think the two do not mix.

The German Freemasons' letter to the premier of North Rhine-Westphalia read as follows:

"Reference: Recognition of Islamic religious organizations as 'public service organizations.'

"Dear Mr Premier:

"The Grand Master of the "Vorwarts" Masonic lodge in Monchengladbach, Dr Klaus Borchner, contacted you on the 22d of this month for the following reason:

"The Muslim congregations represented by a) the Islamic Cultural Center and b) the Koln Congregation of Nur [light] wish to be recognized as 'public service organizations.'

"However, to this day these organizations have not been given any response.

"Dr Borchner requested from you to expedite these procedures.

"On behalf of the grand lodge we concur with his request.

"In a liberal and democratic state everyone must have equal rights. In view of our roots and goals, we believe that it is our duty to remind you that these groups do not enjoy equal rights in our society.

"Our government recognizes churches and similar organizations, perhaps out of good will, as public service organizations. Thus all Christians benefit from this right and privileges regardless of their nationality.

"Consequently, we do not understand why these rights have not been granted to hundreds of thousands of Muslims living in North Rhine-Westphalia.

"We, the Freemasons, believe that this situation has effectively meant the alienation of a large group of people whose labor we deeply respect.

"We respectfully ask you to take the necessary steps to resolve this problem."

Demirgulle's Letter of Thanks

In response to this letter by the Freemasons to the state premier, Islamic Cultural Centers President Necdet Demirgulle sent the following letter of thanks to Dr Trawy, the grand master of the Grand Masonic Lodge of Germany:

"Dear Dr Trawy:

"We have learned that you have made the courageous decision to support the bid by the Islamic Cultural Centers and its congregation to win official recognition for the Muslims of Germany and West Berlin.

"The letter you have written to the premier of North Rhine-Westphalia is marked with the spirit of genuine compassion and altruism and consequently the conforms with the concept of modern democracy.

"To reciprocate, we would like to reassure you that we will continue to maintain our long-standing belief that your Masonic activities cannot be blocked either by force or legal actions.

"We also hope that the Masonic community will continue to follow sincerely and steadily the path you have shown.

"Our common trait with Christians is that we both believe in the metaphysical world. Major differences between the two faiths notwithstanding, our common trait with you Freemasons, who do not believe in the metaphysical world, is our belief in democracy and human rights and freedoms, chief among which is the freedom of conscience.

"On this occasion we would like to express our deep wishes for the welfare of the Masonic community."

Mete Aksu's Letter of Warning

Acting in consortium with Turk-Is [Turkish Confederation of Labor], the DGB undertook efforts to have Islam recognized as an official religion in the FRG and wrote letters to the Religious Affairs Chairmanship on this issue.

But by that time an unexpected situation had arisen.

The step that should have been taken by the Religious Affairs Chairmanship was taken by the "Islamic Cultural Centers" who are labeled as "Suleymanists."

At the urging of Mete Aksu, Karl Schwab, a member of the DGB's administrative council and foreign affairs authority, wrote the following letter to the premier of North Rhine-Westphalia on 20 October 1979:

"Dear Premier Rau:

"We have learned that the Ministry of Culture of North Rhine-Westphalia sent a memorandum to all schools on 21 March 1979 instructing them to excuse all Turkish students from schools on their religious holidays and that the said memorandum referred to the Islamic Cultural Centers.

"It is alleged that the said organization has approximately 130 branches in the FRG.

"The said memorandum advises school administrations to consult with the Koln branch of the said organization or the organization called 'Medrese-i Nuriye [School of Light]' on issues related to Islam.

"This way, an organization banned in Turkey is given recognition in the FRG.

"The said memorandum has given us the impression that government officials are not adequately informed about the Islamic Cultural Center in Koln and its branches.

"We have also learned that the said organization has applied to state Minister of Culture Girgensohn to gain recognition as a 'public service organization.'

Information on Suleymanism

"For this reason, we would like to offer some information about the religious-political orientation of the Islamic Cultural Centers.

"The Islamic Cultural Center referenced above has officially endorsed 'Suleymanism.' Suleymanism, which is a type of cult, was founded by Suleyman Hilmi Tunahan who was born in Silistre in 1888 and who died in Istanbul in 1959.

"This person entered Turkey as an immigrant. Suleymanism is based on worship and believes that the source of all truth is the Koran.

"According to this cult, a person must comply with the injunctions of the Koran and the Sunni principles in all his behavior. Suleymanism does not recognize any laws or regulations outside the Koran. They believe that government, courts and state institutions must be organized in accordance with the injunctions of the Koran and that women must not read anything except the Koran. According to this cult, marriage must conform with the rules of the Shari'a and that the modern alphabet and hats must be abolished.

"During World War II, the Suleymanists claimed that Hitler was a Muslim, that he would invade Turkey to topple the pro-Christian infidel Inonu government, that he would set up an Islamic state in Turkey and that he would place Suleymanist leader Tunahan at the head of that government.

'Suleymanists Joined SS Units'

"As a result, they formed a regiment under the leadership of the former mufti of Jerusalem and went to Yugoslavia to join Hitler's Islamic SS units.

"After the war, the Suleymanists supported Adnan Menderes' Democratic Party. This support continued until the Menderes government opened state-financed imam-preacher schools in 1952. After the 1961 revolution, they supported the parties that were formed to replace the Democratic Party which was banned by the National Security Council.

"In the 1977 elections, they supported Suleyman Demirel's JP which promised them 12 seats in the assembly. However, in those elections the Suleymanists managed to win only three TGNA seats and one Senate seat.

"One of these TGNA deputies was Kemal Kacar, the son-in-law of the founder of the Suleymanist cult, Tunahan. A former JP deputy from Istanbul, Kacar is today regarded the leader of this cult.

"The 12 top leaders of the Suleymanist cult live in Europe. Most of them are residents of the FRG.

"The primary reason the Suleymanists' influence grew among Turks in the FRG is the fact that the Turks do not know the true goals of Suleymanism--in other words the Islamic Cultural Center.

"We have learned from the Minister of State of the Turkish Republic that the Religious Affairs Chairmanship dispatched 26 clergymen to Europe during the month of Ramadan which runs from 24 July to 25 August 1979.

"During the same time interval, the Suleymanists, the supporters of [Alpaslan] Turkes's [defunct] NAP and the followers of Erbakan's NSP dispatched 150, 100 and 150 preachers, respectively.

"Although Religious Affairs Chairman Tayyar Altikulac was in the FRG during the month of Ramadan he turned down the invitation of the Islamic Cultural Centers to attend meetings in their mosques. This is because the Religious Affairs Chairmanship and the Islamic Cultural Centers interpret the Koran differently.

'Religious Terrorism'

"Meanwhile, in Turkey, clergymen who are known to be supporters of the Suleymanist view are immediately dismissed from their offices. However, it is seen that these people are soon brought to the FRG by the Islamic Cultural Centers as preachers.

"The granting of the status of 'public service organization' to the Islamic Cultural Center and the subsequent government assistance to be provided to them will lead to religious terrorism among Turks living in the FRG.

"These organizations, which will become the sole religious representatives of Turkish citizens, will be able to exploit these facilities to the maximum possible extent.

"This would lead to the creation of an Islamic state within the state of the FRG and would make the coexistence of the two cultures even more difficult.

"We would also like to point out separately to the problems that would be created for Turkish workers living in other European countries and for our country's foreign policy.

"Consequently and in view of the interests of the Turkish workers in the FRG, we respectfully request that the government not support the aforementioned Islamic Cultural Centers and that they not be granted the status of 'public service organization.'

"We would be very happy to discuss this matter further with you or with Mr Girgensohn at any time."

Following this letter by the German Trade Union Federation, the status of "public service organization" was not granted to the Islamic Cultural Center.

[9 Mar 87 p 6]

[Text] The DGB prepared a report on religious movements in the FRG and distributed it to the competent authorities in the FRG.

During the same time, Mete Aksu wrote to the Grand Masonic Lodge of Germany explaining them the problems their support for the Islamic Cultural Center might create. He received the following letter from the Grand Masonic Lodge:

"Dear Mr Mete Aksu:

"I read your letter dated 28 November 1979 and the attached information. I would like to state the following on this matter:

"The purpose of our letter to the North Rhine-Westphalia government on 27 August 1979 was not particularly the recognition of the Islamic Cultural Center as a 'public service organization' but the equal treatment of all religions.

"We are not competent to pass judgement on the Islamic Cultural Centers or other Islamic organizations in the FRG.

"As Freemasons, our duty is to point out the unequal treatment of people and organizations of different faiths in violation of our country's Constitution and the basic principles of Freemasonry.

"It is the responsibility of Premier Rau and his ministers to decide what organizations will be granted the status of 'public service organization,' to gather data for that purpose and to reach a decision which expresses good will and which is acceptable within the laws of our state.

"Please allow me to say that we found your letter and its attachments very informative and beneficial.

"We would be very happy if you could provide us with further information with regard to major developments in the future."

This issue was also covered in the January-February 1980 edition of HUMANITAS, the press organ of the Grand Masonic Lodge of Germany.

Letter to Masonic Lodge

The letter sent by the chief legal counselor of North Rhine-Westphalia to the Grand Masonic Lodge of Germany reads as follows:

"The Premier made the necessary inquiries with regard to your request and instructed me to state the following:

"The Premier agrees with you that Muslims in this state must have unconditional freedom of religion as guaranteed by the Constitution. Consequently, he considers your request to be of utmost importance.

"The Minister of Culture also concurs with this view. He, too, believes that freedom of religion must be applicable to everyone.

"However, the request of certain Islamic organizations to be granted the status of 'public service organization'--a request for which you have expressed support--has special legal peculiarities which must be taken into account. Despite his diligent efforts on this issue, the Minister of Culture has not yet fully resolved the problems. However, he has stated that he will resolve the issue expeditiously.

"The Minister of Culture also states that the Nurists have withdrawn their petition and that currently only the petition of the Islamic Cultural Center of Koln is being pursued."

The Islamic Cultural Center of Koln had written to the Grand Master:

"We have learned that you have made the courageous decision to support the bid by the Islamic Cultural Centers and its congregation to win official recognition for the Muslims of Germany and West Berlin.

"We thank you for this on behalf of all our organizations.

"The letter you have written to the premier of North Rhine-Westphalia is marked with the spirit of genuine compassion and altruism and consequently conforms with the concept of modern democracy.

"To reciprocate, we would like to reassure you that we will continue to maintain our long-standing belief that your Masonic activities cannot be blocked either by force or legal actions.

"We also hope that the Masonic community will continue to follow sincerely and steadily the path you have shown.

"Our common trait with Christians is that we both believe in the metaphysical world. Major differences between the two faiths notwithstanding, our common trait with you Freemasons, who do not believe in the metaphysical world, is our belief in democracy and human rights and freedoms, chief among which is the freedom of conscience.

"On this occasion we would like to express our deep wishes for the welfare of the Masonic community."

The Islamic Cultural Center also has a weekly press organ.

It is called ANADOLU [Anatolia].

The owner of ANADOLU is Erdogan Olcayto. ANADOLU used to be printed at the printing facilities of TERCUMAN in the FRG.

ANADOLU is no longer published. Its owner Erdogan Olcayto is currently the Bonn representative of HURRIYET.

After the Islamic Cultural Center's bid to win recognition as an "public service organization" failed, Olcayto briefed Kemal Kacar, the "moral leader" of the Islamic Cultural Centers about these developments.

ANADOLU is a publication which can be regarded as "pro-JP."

Its articles are dominated by a political view which supports the JP and the NAP. The paper has also published articles criticizing the NSP and Erbakan. Its middle pages carry "news about the Islamic Cultural Centers."

Harun Resit Tuyluglu and Mithat Tarhan occasionally wrote columns in the pages set aside for news about Islamic Cultural Centers and engaged in political polemics.

The paper also carried promotional articles entitled "What We Have Heard and Seen from our Master Suleyman Hilmi Tunahan (K.S.) [unknown abbreviation]."

Views of His Majesty the Effendi

Let us convey the views of "His Majesty the Effendi" Tunahan by quoting an excerpt from an article written in ANADOLU by Nihat Tarhan, the head imam of the Islamic Cultural Center in Hamburg and its suburbs:

"The world encompassing the sky and the earth is known as the Alem-i Akbar [the whole world or macrocosm]. The lower part of the human body represents the earth. Like the sun, the moon and the stars which light up the sky, the divine grace in a man's chest lights up his earthly part. Just as the earth needs sunlight to have daylight, man, too, must light up the moral candles, that is the graces known as 'heart, soul, mystery, secret and ahva [unknown term]' which are located in the direction of his chest in order to turn to the moral sun and to commune with the divine current. This can only be accomplished through rabita. The shortest of the paths which lead to communion is the Rabita-i Sharifa.

"Compared to the first layer of heavens, this world is like a small ring thrown in the Arabian peninsula. Each of the seven layers of heavens is as small as a ring compared to the next one. Science has not yet uncovered even the first layer of heaven. The seven layers of heavens are followed by the Alem-i Kursi [upper heaven supporting the throne of God]. All seven layers of the heavens are as small as a ring compared to this divine layer. The Alem-i Kursi is followed by ars-i akla [unknown meaning]. That massive ars remains as small as a ring compared to the Alem-i Emir. This is the center of the light that reaches man's heart. No creature, not even the angels, can reach there. The Alem-i Emir is 50,000 years away as angels fly. It is miraculously fixed. A believer inducted by rabita can reach the Alem-i Emir at the moment he assumes his duties. How strange divine mystery is!"

ANADOLU carried articles similar to this. It also carried news about the Koranic schools which developed and grew under the sponsorship of the Islamic Cultural Centers in the FRG.

In its "Religious Discourse" page, ANADOLU carried articles by Nihat Tarhan and Harun Resit Tuyluglu as well as Nizamettin Azap, the head imam of the Islamic Cultural Center of Mannheim and its suburbs; Suleyman Olmustur, the head imam of the Islamic Cultural Center of Munich and its suburbs; Mehmet Gaye, the head imam of the Islamic Cultural Center of Stuttgart and its suburbs; and Mehmet Ozasik, the head imam of the Islamic Association of Esslingen.

The weekly had other writers as well.

Such as Saban Karatas, a former director general of the TRT [Turkish Radio and Television Administration].

Former JP parliamentary deputy Gokhan Evliyaoglu.

Journalist Gungor Yerdas.

ANADOLU's mid-section was set aside for news about "Islamic Cultural Centers." Other sections of the paper carried political articles. Karatas's, Yerdas's and Evliyaoglu's articles are all in this category.

The Islamic Cultural Center of Koln gave a fast-breaking dinner during the Ramadan of 1980.

The dinner was attended by Mehmet Ali Arsan, the press and tourism coordinator of the Turkish embassy in Bonn and a former parliamentary deputy; Ali Riza Ozguc, the educational counselor at the embassy; Gokhan Evliyaoglu, the educational counselor of the Turkish consulate in Koln and a former JP parliamentary deputy; Ismet Comoglu, the labor attache of the Turkish consulate in Koln; and Manfred Gotz, professor of Islamic studies in Koln.

In a speech at the dinner, Tuyluoglu said that the "greatest enemy of Turkish-German friendship is godlessness and communism."

The news about the dinner was published in ANADOLU.

Mete Aksu wrote a letter to Semih Belen, the charge d'affaires of the Turkish embassy in Bonn, criticizing the presence of embassy officials at a dinner sponsored by the Islamic Cultural Centers and said:

"Dear Mr Semih Belen:

"As reported by the 15 August 1980 issue of ANADOLU—a photocopy of which is attached—the Federation of Islamic Cultural Centers sponsored a fast-breaking dinner which was attended by Press and Tourism Coordinator Mehmet Ali Arsan and Educational Counselor Ali Riza Oguc from the Turkish embassy in Bonn and Educational Counselor Gokhan Evliyaoglu and Labor Attache Ismet Comoglur from the Turkish consulate in Koln.

"The paper ends its report as follows:

"Speaking on behalf of the Turkish embassy, Press and Tourism Coordinator M. Ali Arsan noted the numerous beneficial services provided by the Islamic Cultural Centers to our Muslim citizens and commended the Islamic Cultural Centers' efforts to have Islam recognized as an official religion in the FRG. The embassy's chief educational counselor Ali Riza Ozguc said that the Islamic Cultural Centers are carrying out invaluable work from the standpoint of preserving our children's sense of nationality, language and religion and that he believes these services are commendable.'

"However, as the Turkish embassy in Bonn knows, the Federation of Islamic Cultural Centers is an organization which categorically rejects the principle

of secularism mandated by the Turkish Constitution and which is a form of a cult banned by the laws of the Turkish Republic. This organization, moreover, does not recognize the Religious Affairs Chairmanship, which the laws of the Turkish Republic have designated as the sole authority on matters related to the Islamic religion, and believes that it is the only true representative of Islam inside and outside Turkey.

"This organization has openly defended its views and interpretations which are incompatible with the principles of the Religious Affairs Chairmanship and the provisions of the Turkish Constitution. During the last Ramadan holiday, they even opposed and refused to comply with the calendar of worship issued by the Religious Affairs Chairmanship.

"The presence of Turkish government officials who carry diplomatic passports and who are authorized to represent the Turkish Republic in various domains in the FRG at a fast-breaking dinner sponsored by an organization so opposed to the Constitution, laws and agencies of the Turkish Republic and their reported speeches undoubtedly carry political implications.

"Does the Turkish embassy in Bonn recognize the Federation of Islamic Cultural Centers as the religious organization of Turkish citizens living in the FRG? Or, does the government of the Turkish Republic have an official policy on this issue?

"If neither of these questions are applicable, then the named government officials have clearly violated the Constitution of the Turkish Republic and breached, at the minimum, articles 6, 7, 8 and 9 of Law No. 657 on Public Servants.

"It is evidently highly desirable that the Turkish embassy in Bonn clarify the issues mentioned above. It is the most natural right of the Turkish worker community in the FRG and their family members to be elucidated on an issue like this which concerns their homeland and religion. I also believe that such a clarification will help trade unions, which are deeply committed to the Turkish Constitution, to determine their policies for the future."

Aksu's Letter Alarms Suleymanists

This recourse by Aksu alarmed the Islamic Cultural Centers.

Naturally, the "moral leader" of this organization, Kemal Kacar, was also alarmed.

Aksu's letter was dated 4 September 1980. The letter led to some uneasiness in the Turkish embassy in Bonn. Ali Riza Ozguc and Gokhan Evliyaoglu learned about it.

At 4:45 pm on 27 December 1980, ANADOLU's owner Erdogan Olcayto sent a telex message from telex machine number 9332303 in Koln to telex machine number 23203 in Istanbul.

Telex machine number 23203 in Istanbul is registered in the name of Fazilet Publishing House.

Olcayto's telex message began with the note "to be conveyed to Mr Kemal Kacar" and read:

"Dear Brother Kemal:

"I mailed a copy of Mete Aksu's letter to the embassy in Bonn with reference to 'embassy officials at the fast-breaking dinner' to the address of the Fazilet Bookstore. I will also give a copy of it to Harun Hoja. Gokhan and M. Ali visited me and told me that they will take the matter to court, that they will sue the DGB and Aksu and that they will file official complaints with the FRG Foreign Ministry against the DGB and Aksu. I will launch an extensive campaign in ANADOLU and inform the public about the issue in the most effective manner. I need to collect some more material.

"Let me write about the second issue in French."

Olcayto's note in French on the second matter reads as follows:

"I would be very much obliged if you could allow me to collect membership fees for the Islamic Association in 3-month intervals. Currently fees are collected in 2-month intervals and this results in many accounting errors. It is very hard to audit the accounts continuously.

"I will be delighted to see you in Germany soon."

After this date, ANADOLU carried articles sharply criticizing then Ambassador Vahit Halefoglu.

Evidently, Olcayto fulfilled his promise to his "brother Kemal."

On 6 January 1981, Kemal Kacar and Erdogan Olcayto conversed on the telex.

Kacar said: "I hope I will be able to advise you of a decision on the collection of membership fees in a few days.

He added: "Thank you for your information concerning the recent meeting and dinner. I always expect information from you on the latest situation. You said that Manfred's attitude is not very positive. That information is very important for me. If possible, send me more detailed and objective reports on this issue. Why did you get that impression? How and in what words did Manfred express his opinion? I would like you to recollect your memories and tell me these things exactly."

Olcatoy did not want to respond to this "order" by Kacar on the same telex. In response, Kacar said:

"I decided that knowledge about our communications on the Manfred issue should be limited to the people under your supervision. That is why I asked you to come to Koln. If that is inconvenient for you, you can call from Bonn."

Faced with this warning, Olcatoy responded:

"Brother, in general I send the telex messages from Bonn personally, and the file is kept only in the cabinet in my room. Consequently, be assured that there is no drawback in sending telex messages from Bonn."

Baban's Article in SON HAVADIS

Another telex exchange between Kacar and Olcayto on 14 February 1981 was related to a SON HAVADIS article entitled "Networks of Treason in Germany."

The article was anonymous.

Olcayto contacted the editor-in-chief of SON HAVADIS, Yuksel Bastunc, on telex and learned that the article was written by Cihad Baban. He reported this information to Kacar by the following telex message:

"I examined the article you had sent me. In the course of a telex conversation with the editor-in-chief of SON HAVADIS I learned that the article was written by Cihad Baban. About 15 days ago, Mr Cihad Baban went to TERCUMAN and had a meeting with Kemal Ilicak and demanded that ANADOLU not be printed at TERCUMAN's printing facilities in Frankfurt. A very brief note sent to me a week ago stated that [ANADOLU] would no longer be printed [at the TERCUMAN facilities] because of 'time shortages.' As of last week, ANADOLU is being printed in another printing press."

In those days, investigations were under way in Turkey about "Suleymanism." Inspectors of the Religious Affairs Chairmanship were busy preparing reports on the Suleymanist movement.

Events were moving at a fast pace.

Ambassador Vahit Halefoglu in Bonn acted in accordance with the developments in Turkey.

Olcayto sent the following telex report to Kacar:

"--The embassy, the DGB and the Religious Affairs Chairmanship have begun to implement the joint program they prepared with full collaboration.

"--The Religious Affairs Chairman has declared that a '12 September operation must be carried out among Turks in Germany' and has disclosed his intentions about the planned program to the press (reported in GUNAYDIN and MILLIYET).

"--Ambassador Halefoglu has prepared a negative report about the Islamic Cultural Centers and ANADOLU and has submitted it to Ankara. The ambassador has told about this work to my colleagues in the embassy personally.

"--The administration in Ankara has designated Mr Cihad Baban to implement measures in accordance with the reports received."

At the end of this report, Olcayto says that "no compromises will ever be made in any form, at any level and on any issue." He outlines the publication policy he will pursue as follows:

"ANADOLU will articulate that the embassy and Halefoglu are misleading the administration in Ankara with false and baseless reports by providing examples, documents and photographs."

The telex message later says:

"I have been in continuous contact for the past week with our military attache at the embassy, Admiral Ozkan. This relationship will be strengthened further."

Adm Turgu Ozkan is a dedicated military officer. He is not in any way related to politics.

"Information on the embassy's baseless and false reports has been sent to the headquarters of CDU [Christian Democratic Union]. In the coming days, I will also meet with Dr Worner who will be on the Interparty Commission that plans to visit Ankara."

The embassy reports are supposed to be secret. But Olcayto learned about these reports and briefed the headquarters of the CDU on this issue!

[10 Mar 87 p 6]

[Text] Of course these are not the only telex exchanges between Kemal Kacar and Erdogan Olcayto.

Olcayto is Kacar's eyes and ears in Germany.

In early 1981, the government began investigating the Suleymanists.

As noted earlier, a criminal lawsuit was filed in Antalya. Cihad Baban, the Minister of Culture of the Ulusu government, wrote anonymous articles such as the one in SON HAVADIS entitled "Networks of Treason in Germany."

The investigations of the Religious Affairs Chairmanship were given new impetus.

The overseas aspect of the issue was important. An inquiry was initiated about head imam Resit Tuyluoglu who was one of the most influential spokesmen of the Suleymanists in the FRG.

On 12 April 1981, Olcayto called from telex number 932330 in Koln to telex number 23203 in Istanbul:

"This is ANADOLU. I am Olcayto. I want to convey a telex message to Brother Kemal. Is he there?"

Having received the answer "yes" he sent the following message:

"Brother Kemal:

"I am conveying the summary of our meeting with the lawyer.

"--If Harun Hoja is asked to return to Turkey, the reason for his recall must be known in Germany. This is important from a legal standpoint.

"--As long as his residence permit has not expired, neither Turkey nor the FRG have a right to intervene. However, when his permit expires and an application is filed for an extension, the course to be pursued by the Bochum prosecutor's office will become important. For this reason, Jochum [the attorney] will personally go to Bochum next week to clarify the issue of 'what may happen' with the prosecutor.

"--If the prosecutor expresses the intention to file a civil lawsuit, the written verdict will be used as evidence against accusations to come from Turkey. We will articulate that Islamic Cultural Centers head imam Harun Hoja has not engaged in political activities, separatism or provocationism.

"--If the prosecutor thinks that a lawsuit will be filed he will probably report the situation to the aliens police in Koln. Therefore, every effort will be made to have an immediate arraignment and to win an 'acquittal.'

"--Since Harun Hoja will not arrive in Turkey on the date he is ordered to 'return,' if his Turkish citizenship is revoked, an application will be filed with the German authorities for the issuance of a 'foreigners' passport' or Fremdenpass.

"--A request for political asylum is considered as a course of last resort."

Olcayto Knows Propaganda Well

Erdogan Olcayto had lived in Germany for many years. He had a very wide circle of acquaintances.

He knew much about propaganda.

The next section of the telex message indicates how the Islamic Cultural Centers run their propaganda.

Let us read:

"--Jochum is preparing a 200-page report on the Islamic Cultural Centers. The Basak Publishing House stated that it [missing words as published], that it expects to sell a minimum of 1,000 copies and thus recoup its expenses."

The next section of the message is very interesting; it is indicative of the relationship between the Islamic Cultural Centers and security officials:

"--Jochum will also be present at the dinner with German security officials at the Bosphor Restaurant on 17 March."

Jochum is presumably the German attorney retained by the Islamic Cultural Centers.

The Islamic Cultural Centers is one of the most powerful organizations in the FRG.

The "Suleymanist" movement which had a certain amount of political power in Turkey before 12 September through JP parliamentary deputies, grew steadily stronger in Germany.

This is what disturbed the Religious Affairs Chairmanship most.

Kemal Kacar had extensive contacts. Known almost to everybody as a "gentleman," Kacar had made friends in almost all circles.

Kacar knew how to make friends with people associated with the JP, the Republican People's Party [RPP], the NAP and just about everybody else.

One of Kacar's closest friends was Cevdet Akcali, then a JP deputy from Adana and the president of the Turkish parliamentary delegation in Europe.

In 1979, Akcali addressed a meeting in Hagen sponsored by the Islamic Cultural Centers.

The other speakers included:

Kemal Kacar, JP deputy from Istanbul; Professor Saban Karatas, JP deputy from Konya; and Ali Ak, JP deputy from Icel.

When Kacar was arrested after 12 September 1980 in connection with the lawsuit filed against him, it was Cevdet Akcali who extended him the hand of friendship.

Akcali was Kacar's "rainy day friend."

Akcali's friendly relations with Kacar manifested themselves in the following incident:

Kacar was a member of the Council of Europe. He used to arrive in Strasbourg in Head Imam Harun Resid Tuyluoglu's Mercedes and together with the other parliamentarians he used to meet Ambassador Semih Gunver, Turkey's permanent delegate to the Council of Europe.

Ambassador Gunver was very positively impressed with Kacar's 26 April 1978 speech before the Council of Europe's Consultative Assembly in response to a pro-Greek speech by socialist French senator Perrider.

The truth was that on that day Kacar defended "republican, democratic and secularist" principles.

Ambassador Gunver closely monitored the status of those Turkish members of the Council of Europe who were arrested on various charges after 12 September 1980.

Gunver was frequently confronted with questions about the detentions of Agah Oktay Guner of NAP, Temel Karamolla of NSP and Kemal Kacar of JP.

Gunver's Opinion on Kacar

After Kacar was detained in Antalya on charges of "attempting to base the state on religious principles and beliefs in violation of the principle of secularism," Gunver wrote a letter to the Foreign Ministry on 4 February 1981 in which he cited Kacar's references to secularism in his speech before the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe and expressed the following opinion about Kacar:

"These remarks by Kacar indicate that he is committed to the republic, pluralist democracy, the concept of secular government and Ataturk's principles."

"In his work within the Council of Europe until January 1981, Mr Kemal Kacar has always remained committed to this view."

"I respectfully request that these facts as well as the photocopied documents enclosed be sent to the Office of the Chief of the General Staff, the Foreign and Interior Ministries and the Religious Affairs Chairmanship for appropriate action."

Gunver's Remarks in Case File

When Ambassador Gunver told Cevdet Akcali that he had written this letter to the Foreign Ministry, Akcali set to work to have the said letter sent to the 1st Criminal Court of Antalya.

Kacar's defense attorneys were notified about this matter. At the request of the attorneys the letter was included in the case file. The court file also included "scholarly opinion" from five faculty members of the School of Law of Istanbul University.

The faculty members who expressed the opinion that no criminal offense was involved in the lawsuit filed against "Suleymanism" were:

Professor Sulhi Donmezler, Professor Kayihan Icel, Associate Professor Erol Cihan, Associate Professor Koksai Bayraktar and Associate Professor E. Yurtcan.

Kacar's and his friends' skills in maintaining multilateral relations manifested themselves on every occasion.

Idealist-Suleymanist Collaboration

While they mobilized the German Freemasons to have the Islamic Cultural Centers recognized as a "public service organization" in the FRG, they established friendships with counselors and attaches in the Turkish embassy in Bonn. As these activities were going on, they bought a building in Ulm in partnership with Inci Kutuk, one of the leading figures of the Idealist organization known as the "Turkish Federation" in Europe.

The Islamic Cultural Centers was growing at a pace which disturbed the Religious Affairs Chairmanship.

The Koranic courses in Turkey were dealt a "major blow" by a change of regulations and the Religious Affairs Chairmanship recommended the seizure of all property registered in the name of the "Suleymanist" Koranic schools.

The Suleymanists avenged this "coup" in the FRG by seizing control of the mosques and their congregations through the Islamic Cultural Centers whose "moral leader" is Kemal Kacar.

Religious Affairs Proposal Not Implemented

The Religious Affairs Chairmanship had proposed that the Koranic schools--which had changed their names to "dormitories" or "hostels" just as they did in 1971--be seized by the government, but the government did not approve that proposal.

The government took the leaders of the "Suleymanist movement" to court. It thought that waiting would be a more correct course of action.

Although the court ruled in favor of transferring the property of the Koranic schools to the Treasury, that decision was overturned by the 9th Criminal Department of the Supreme Court of Appeals and repealed the part of the decision dealing with "the transfer of the Koranic schools to the Treasury."

The second measure contemplated by the Ulusu government was to bring mosques, masjits and Koranic schools overseas under the control of the Religious Affairs Chairmanship.

That was the step that was contemplated. Only thus could the state reclaim its citizens overseas and "dissipate the Suleymanist forces."

But were the Suleymanists the only Islamic movement overseas?

Battle Over Mosques

No they were not.

The National View, which waged a merciless battle against the Suleymanists, and the Idealists, who could never get along with the National View, all had influence over the mosques.

The Nurists were also organized, but they were not as influential as the Suleymanists or the National View.

The mosques and masjits overseas are virtually parcelled out among the Suleymanists, the National View, the Religious Affairs Chairmanship, the Idealists and the followers of Kaplan Hoja.

They all have different societies, different mosques and different congregations.

These differences stem more from political motivations than from religious principles. For example, before 12 September the National View supported the NSP, but in the 6 November [1983] elections it backed the Prosperity Party [PP].

The newspaper the National View favors is MILLI GAZETE.

And because they are fully aware of the prohibitions contained in the Political Parties Law, when queried they say: "We have no organic ties or relations with any political party in Turkey."

But everyone knows that they support the PP and that they are fond of Erbakan.

The Turkish consulate in Koln has asked Ali Yuksel, the secretary general of the National View Organizations of Europe, to turn in his passport.

As a result, Yuksel is very careful and moderate in his remarks.

Salih Gok, a native of the Batman district of Siirt and the National View's regional leader in Holland, says: "Go ahead and write it. Let everyone hear. We believe that the expulsion of this Kaplan Hoja from our ranks is to our benefit."

I ask: "Why?"

He replies: "Because we are being charged with being pro-Iranian even though we are not. The emergence of Kaplan Hoja has proved that we are not pro-Iranian."

'We Are Pro-Shari'a'

Here is the title of the article that appeared in the May 1981 issue of the journal ISLAMCI GENCLIGIN SESI-FETIH [Voice of Islamic Youth-Conquest], the publication of the "Berlin subdivision of the Islamic Youth Organization" affiliated with the Islamic Federation in Berlin:

"We Are Followers of the Shari'a. Glory Be Upon God."

The article insists that Erbakan has been imprisoned unjustly and says:

"Oh Muslim! Put your head between your hands and think. Where is this leader now and what is he charged with? Put the facts together and make your own decision."

Either you are on the side of the Muslim or you are a member of the Western camp. There is nothing between the two.

If you ask them on which side they are, they say:

"We are pro-Shari'a. Glory be upon God."

The article also says:

"Our goal is God, our leader is His Prophet, our constitution is the Koran, our way is the jihad, and our greatest goal and objective is to be martyred in God's cause."

And a "catch phrase":

"Jihad in God's cause."

What about Ali Ihsan Hoja's speech at the National View-controlled Central Mosque in Hamburg during the Id al-'Adha holiday in 1983?

Ali Ihsan Hoja's Cassettes

Ali Ihsan Halisci is known as "Ali Ihsan Hoja" in Hamburg. Recordings of his sermons are extensively circulated.

Halisci was born in 1944 and is registered as a resident of the village of Yazyurdu in the district of Beysehir in Konya. Incidents reportedly erupted during one of his sermons in the Central Mosque in Hamburg in 1983.

I listen to a recording of his sermons.

Halisci speaks:

"The Holy Koran says that anyone who does not govern by God's commandments and laws is an infidel. I, too, say he is an infidel.

"Can that be called politics?

"Is secularism in the Koran? Is democracy in the Koran?"

"Democracy is the order of the Koran.

"Is secularism the order of the Koran?"

By using the pulpit of the mosque as a political platform, Halisci is trying to propagate the following view:

"Beloved believers! We all came to these lands because we abandoned our homeland and our nation. We are becoming more and more like the green grass in these godless countries.

Like Young Turks?

"Glory be upon God. We firmly embrace God's order, God's law and God's religion. Glory be upon God. This is a matter of pride. God has truly given strong determination to the people who live in these godless countries today. We will return to our homeland as holy warriors tomorrow just like the Young Turks who were protected and pampered abroad by the enemies of religion and sanctity, who were offered by the Europeans to sleep with their wives and daughters in the same bed, who were eventually released into the 600-year-old Ottoman Empire and who brought about the collapse of this great empire and blocked the implementation of God's law. We will return to our land with a strong consciousness and we will tear the faces of the people who have torn our Koran--we will destroy the constitution of those who have destroyed our Koran."

I get goose bumps as I listen to this speech on the tape.

Mosques Used as Political Forums

Mosques have stopped being places of worship and have become political arenas.

In his speeches, Ali Ihsan Hoja also insults Ataturk and says: "We do not need bone-dry lands which have been turned into godless countries."

At one point in Halisci's speech, a member of the congregation interrupts him.

A citizen hollers:

"This is not a place for propaganda."

He is joined by other citizens:

"Stop the propaganda. We have come only to pray. For the love of God keep silent. We will just pray and go."

Ignoring these objections, Ali Ihsan Hoja continues:

"We want people to stand up for the Koran. We want to instill that awareness. We are saying: 'Knock down those worshippers of idols.' They have abolished God's law. They have abolished God's constitution. They instituted a regime of godlessness. But one day this order will return. One day the Koran will certainly be endorsed as the constitution."

On this issue Ali Ihsan Hoja's views are virtually identical with those of Cemalettin Kaplan's.

How could they not be the same? The two men were together until August 1983. Before then, Kaplan Hoja was the "Fatwa Commission Chairman of the National View."

I asked Ali Yuksel, the secretary general of the National View Organizations of Europe, to comment on this speech by Ali Ihsan Hoja at the National View-controlled Central Mosque in Hamburg.

As I said, Ali Yuksel is extremely cautious.

His response was:

"Mr Mumcu, our organization was formed in 1985. Speeches and incidents that have occurred before that date do not concern us."

[Box p 6] Words to Prevent Prostate Disease

The mid-section of Erdogan Olcayto's paper, ANADOLU, was set aside for the Suleymanist Federation of Islamic Cultural Centers. Olcayto was in constant contact with Kemal Kacar. When the government began investigating Harun Resit Tuyluoglu, ANADOLU began publishing articles criticizing then Ambassador Vahit Halefoglu.

Beside Tuyluoglu, other leading figures of the Suleymanist movement wrote in ANADOLU. Below we present an excerpt from an article entitled "What We Hear and See From our Master, His Majesty Suleyman Hilmi Tunahan (K.S.) Effendi" by Nihat Tarhan, the head imam of the Islamic Cultural Center in greater Hamburg.

"The human body consists of seven layers just as the earth's heavens consist of seven layers. These layers are: 1) Heart which is illuminated with red divine light; 2) Soul which is illuminated with red light; 3) Mystery which is illuminated with white light; 4) Secret which is illuminated with green light; 5) Deep secret which is white bordered with brown; 6) Reason which is illuminated with orange light; and 7) Universal soul which has the colors of all the others. 'Heart' is where the light of divine essence resides. 'Soul' is where the light of divine attributes resides. 'Mystery' is where the mystery of the oneness of God manifests itself. 'Secret' contains the light of the god of justice. 'Deep secret' contains the mystery of the divine god."

In another article entitled "What We Hear and See From our Master, His Majesty Suleyman Hilmi Tunahan (K.S.) Effendi," Tarhan wrote:

"All the diseases in this world result from disobedience to the holy injunctions of our lord the Prophet. God has 384 angels assigned to the human body. Note, gentlemen, that this number is 384 and not 385. Two of these angels have agreed to oversee man's need to relieve himself--that is, they have agreed 'to stand guard at the restroom door.' These angels are deemed higher in rank and more exalted because they have taken on this function.

"After relieving himself, a man must say 'Elhamdulillah ezhebe ennile eza ve afanimin zalik [unknown meaning].' Those who practice this custom do not

contract 'prostate' disease. When the person who has relieved himself recites this prayer, he is considered to have mastered the secret of keeping diseases away and to expressed his gratitude to God."

[11 Mar 87 p 6]

[Text] We talk to Sefer Ahmetoglu, the imam of the Central Mosque in Hamburg.

Ahmetoglu is a graduate of the School of Literature of Istanbul University. He knows Arabic. He gives the impression of a quiet man.

He has toured several Islamic countries. He has visited Pakistan, Afghanistan and India.

Of course, he has also visited Iran.

He says he went to Iran "before the reformation" as an invited guest.

Sefer Hoja's real surname is "Malak." He is registered as a resident of the village of Akcavakif in Cankiri.

He is in trouble with the Turkish consulate general. Because of that he hides his face when photographed and uses the alias "Ahmetoglu" instead of his real surname.

Just like Ahmet Kutahyali, the literature teacher we met at Ayasofya Mosque in Zaandam, Holland, he, too, uses a phony surname.

Phony Surnames

We talk to Sefer Hoja at the Fatih Athletic Club. Sitting next to him is Sahin Caymaz, an engineer and the head of National View in Hamburg, and Huseyin Usta, the deputy president of the Fatih Athletic Club.

Sitting next to me is Dr Etem Ete, the leader of the Populist-Revolutionary Federation.

We talk about Cemalettin Kaplan with Sefer Hoja.

He says: "He went too far in sympathizing with Iran."

Then we all tour the mosque.

The mosque is really an apartment building which was bought in 1977.

On the ground floor of the building there is a supermarket and a store which sells cassettes and religious publications. A restaurant sits in front of the supermarket.

The mosque is on the upper floor.

The National View has five mosques in Hamburg. They are: the Central, Hamburg, Little Istanbul, Wilhelmsburg and Gingenverder mosques.

The Suleymanists have two mosques. One mosque, the Yunus Emre, is controlled by the Idealists.

Meanwhile, the Beyazit Mosque belongs to the Religious Affairs Chairmanship.

Dialog Between National View and Left

Sahin Caymaz, the head of the National View in Hamburg, and Professor Hakki Kesin, a man of democratic views, have formed a society called "Turkish Immigrants' Association."

The president of the organization is Professor Keskin.

Engineer Sahin Caymaz is the vice-president of the organization.

A magazine called GOCMEN [Migrant] is published in Hamburg.

The magazine expounds the view that Turks abroad "are besieged by an alien culture" and that that is why they "embrace Islam." Insisting that Turks abroad seek refuge in Islam because they encounter "cultural erosion" in an alien cultural world, the magazine says:

"It must be acknowledged that Islam provides the Turkish citizen abroad with what he perceives as a comprehensive answer to his quest to claim his own culture and to find his own identity. We may not think that the answer provided by Islam is the right one and we may criticize it. We may even claim that the answers provided by Islam are inadequate, indeed problematic, on various issues such as the conflict between successive generations and relations between men and women. But that is a different matter. What is at issue is to understand the cultural and social needs of Turkish people and to provide sound answers to their problems. This confronts us with a set of problems which have not been seriously examined by the leftist movement."

'No More Mischief, Evil'

This view appears to be extremely sensible. But after listening to Ali Ihsan Hoja, Demirtas Hoja and Hasan Damar, one wonders how their views can find common ground with the views of the left.

Let us think together about how these two views can be brought together by quoting from a recording of Demirtas Hoja's speech.

Demirtas Hoja says:

"What is the cause that the Muslims of the world must pursue? The Koran issues the following injunction to the followers of the Muslim faith; it is in Verse 193 of the Bakara Sura: Oh believers and Muslims: Fight against infidels

nd the enemies of the faith until no more mischief and evil remains on earth, until Islam rules the entire world and until Islam and Allah become the new religion."

Demirtas continues later on:

"Does Islam rule the earth today? Does Islam rule Istanbul today? We ruled Istanbul at the time of Sultan Mehmet the Conqueror. Does Islam rule today? Does Islam control the beaches, the boulevards, the environment, the schools, the books, the television screen, the radio speaker and the newspapers?

"Those who do not work, who do not fight and who do not sacrifice their lives and property for this cause until this desired result is achieved will go to hell together with their prayers. Religion is God's commandment. Today, all local grocery stores in Istanbul have been turned into drinking establishments. Had God's rule been in effect in Istanbul, no one would drink a single drop of alcohol. Had God's rule been in effect on the beaches, women and men would not swim together in the sea with beastly passions. Had God's rule been in effect, there would be no adultery on the Bosphorus and in bars and casinos and discotheques. Had God's rule been in effect no one would deny God in schools and universities in Istanbul.

"Therefore Islam is not in control.

'No Women Left to Bear Conquerors'

"Those who do not have the determination to restore the dominance of Islam will not receive any share from any conquest. Since they banned the Holy Koran in schools, they have not been able to train a single good generation. Since the time they abolished Islamic morality, faith and rules they have not been able to train a single good man. They have not left a single woman to bear conquerors. They have turned all of them into weak creatures of passion, adultery and fornication. Can the women who seek passion all day long with sexual provocations and tight jeans on their legs give birth to conquerors?

"They degenerated our educational system. By saying that man is descended from monkeys, they adopted a philosophy of monkeys so that they could train animals rather than conquerors. Since that day, this country has trained neither conquerors nor humans. The schools where national education is planned, have produced savage marauders, anarchists and terrorists who tear each other to pieces. If today the poor Turkish soldier withdraws his rifle from the schools, no one will be able to study. God willing, this nation will return to its roots and will rediscover Mehmet the Conqueror."

So what solution does Demirtas Hoja propose?

Solution: Return to Koran

Solution:

"Restoration of Islam's dominance and humanity's return to the Koran."

He states just like Cemalettin Kaplan:

"The Koran will be the constitution."

Let us also listen to speeches by Hasan Damar whose name is also frequently mentioned.

Damar says:

"We parted ways with the Koran. But with God's permission we will find it again. Where is our place? Our place is neither America nor Russia nor the West. We originated from God and we were governed by the laws of the Koran. By God's will, we will return to the Koran.

"When our religion becomes the state—that is when it becomes the religion of the state—then everyone will be able to sit down and count his prayer beads. But at this time my task is to engage in communication to make my religion the state—to make my religion the religion of the state.

"We practiced our faith mostly in jails. We are prepared to accept that. We are prepared to live with that. We are prepared to stay there. If necessary, we are prepared to be beheaded for God. Let no one doubt that.

"We are a million times more courageous than the communists.

'Batteries Have Run Out'

"We are a million times braver than the racists.

"Everyone's battery has run out; their lights have gone out. They are all out. Everyone is now working for himself. Everyone is now training people.

"They cannot even train leeks.

"One has to tell these to the mountains. [They think] of course some things will happen. So what if the Koran is abolished, Friday is no longer the day of rest, imams and preachers take their instructions from the government, we are told to prepare for 19 May [Youth Day], headcovers are abolished, the Hacettepe University expels 20 or 38 of our doctor girls because they wear headcovers and the Prophet's Sunna is compromised? [They think] after all this you and I will go to heaven.

"Vain hopes. That is like the priests' heaven. That cannot happen. We will fight.

"If religion is separated from the state, then the state becomes infidel. If your state is infidel then it leads to a carnival. If the state is infidel then glasses will be raised under the pine trees. Is it not happening in your state? Is there not fornication? Is there no carnival? Are not lips painted? Do not people swim naked in the sea? Are not the gates of Ayia Sophia shut for prayer? Are not headcovers banned? Are there not remarks in the street that 'we will not return to a 1,400-year-old book'?

'Soldiers of God'

"Now if I defend the Shari'a they will confiscate my passport.

"Of course, they would. What did you think? That is why Muslims must enlist as God's soldiers. With God's will you should have no fear. All idols will be knocked down. One day God will send to this nation a new Holy Omar. Let them keep saying 'we cannot go back 1,400 years.' Let us see what their fate will be. What happened to the tyrants and the pharaohs? Where are they? They all went to the bottom of hell."

Damar's objective is evident:

To establish a religious state.

The Frankfurt-based "European Federation of Democratic-Idealist Turkish Societies," known by its short name "Turkish Federation," also supports a form of "Islamic ideology." The Turkish Federation, which is an extension of the NAP overseas, has its headquarters in an apartment building on "Gutleutstrasse 173, 6000 Frankfurt am Main 1."

The Turkish Federation has a branch in virtually all cities. They have branches as well as mosques.

One can tell the ideology this organization supports from questions on history asked in the "1985 general knowledge contest" the Turkish Federation sponsored.

Question 7:

"As is known, religious education has been abolished in Turkey since 1923 and prayer was said in Turkish for 17 years after that date. There was a strong national reaction against this mistreatment of religion, and the Democratic Party was elected to office in 1950. When the late Adnan Menderes addressed several hundred thousand people in Izmir and told them that this nation is and will remain Muslim and when he recited prayers at the gravesite of a person during an official visit to a certain country, he was subjected to intense criticism and condemnation by the press and the main opposition which do not echo the national sentiments and thoughts of Turkey's general population. Can you name the person at whose gravesite Menderes said prayers and the country he visited?"

Question 23 asks the year in which the statement "Islam is the official religion of the Turkish state" was deleted from the Constitution.

Beside questions on history, the Turkish federation also formulated "religion" questions and asked them to students who had received religious training.

Let us briefly survey these religious questions.

'Which Verse Mandates Headcovers?'

Question 39:

"Today, we have women who believe in God and all of his commandments, including the one about 'covering the body,' but who exhibit weakness and do not comply with that commandment. In addition, there are those who oppose Islam's injunction about women covering their bodies because they have not taken Islamic vows or, if they have taken Islamic vows, they have not fully heard or understood God's commandment on this issue. In modern-day Turkey, even very high-ranking officials of the government often claim that the Koran contains no injunctions about covering the body and that the headcover was inherited from Arabs and ancient Greeks who lived in Anatolia. The truth is that the divine order about the covering the body and wearing headcovers is explicitly written in the Koran. Name the sura and the verse number which contains the injunction about headcovers."

The ideology of the Turkish Federation is "Turkish-Islamic synthesis." This is the same ideology expounded by the "Intellectuals' Hearth" in Turkey whose current members include several cabinet ministers.

Kazim Oksay, who heads the Ministry of State which has jurisdiction over the Religious Affairs Chairmanship, joined the Intellectuals' Hearth as a registered member on 12 February 1975 when he was the director of administrative affairs of the Office of the Prime Minister.

He, too, supports the "Turkish-Islamic synthesis" ideology.

Perhaps that is why the leaders of the Turkish Federation stood by the side of State Minister Oksay and Religious Affairs Chairman Altikulac when they came to Koln to attend the inauguration of the Gornekli Mosque in Koln financed by the Religious Affairs Chairmanship and the Turkish-Islamic Association.

"Turkish Federation President" Ali Batman and other leaders of the organization showed up in force during the ceremonies.

Slogans for 'Basbug Turkes'

In the hall where the ceremony was held slogans of "Basbug [leader] Turkes" were shouted in the presence of Oksay and Altikulac.

The religious attache of the Turkish consulate in Frankfurt is Salih Gunes, who ran as a NAP parliamentary candidate from Kastamonu.

The religious counselor of the Turkish embassy in Brussels, Riza Selim Basoglu, left his job at the Religious Affairs Chairmanship during the days Gun Sazak was the Minister of Customs and Monopolies and took up a position in the Ministry of Customs and Monopolies.

His job was: Director of personnel and training. Returning back to the Religious Affairs Chairmanship in 1979, Basoglu was named Director of Administrative Affairs in that agency.

Later, he was named "Head of Coordination."

These are only two examples.

Idealists in Key Positions

It is known that before 12 September 1980, Idealists were engaged in a heated battle with the NSP to gain control of key positions in the Religious Affairs Chairmanship.

The Idealist cadres won an important key position in their campaign to politicize the Religious Affairs Chairmanship.

The company which distributed publications of the Religious Affairs Chairmanship was formed and controlled by senior NAP officials.

Who were the owners of "ANDA, Ana Publishing and Distribution Corporation"?

NAP deputy leader Sadi Somuncuoglu.

Nevzat Koseoglu, parliamentary deputy from Erzurum.

NAP General Administrative Council member Ahmet Iyioldu.

Mustafa Pektut, a preacher assigned to Istanbul by the Religious Affairs Chairmanship.

Also, Suleyman Kurkcu, Nurhan Alpay and Ibrahim Metin.

ANDA signed a contract with the Religious Affairs Chairmanship on 6 February 1975 and assumed the responsibility to distribute publications of the agency inside and outside Turkey.

Who was the Religious Affairs Chairman at that time? Dr Lutfi Dogan.

Lutfi Dogan who later served as the Minister of State in the RPP government.

Who was Dogan's deputy?

His deputy was Tayyar Altikulac. The Religious Affairs Chairmanship signed the contract with ANDA without seeking "legal guarantees."

That was one result of political considerations.

ANDA's Influence

As a result of the contract signed between the Religious Affairs Chairmanship and ANDA, a corporation founded by senior NAP officials, the said company not only turned a profit, but also increased its political influence within the Religious Affairs Chairmanship.

The said contract was signed by Dr Suleyman Ates who was appointed Religious Affairs Chairman on 29 October 1976.

The rivalry between the NAP and the NSP revealed itself in this incident as well.

In another contract signed with the Religious Affairs Foundation on 23 December 1980, Tayyar Altikulac appointed TERCUMAN columnist Ergun Goze to compile and publish the "Grand Islamic Encyclopedia."

However, the "academic consultation committee" of the Foundation determined that the text prepared by Goze "contained several flaws," and the board of trustees of the Foundation revoked the contract with Goze on 18 May 1981.

Why was the preparation of a permanent reference document such as the "Grand Islamic Encyclopedia" contracted to a columnist with well-known political views rather than faculty members of divinity schools or religious scholars working in the Religious Affairs Chairmanship?

These examples, whose political overtones outweigh their commercial considerations, are sufficient to show that former Religious Affairs Chairman Tayyar Altikulac was not so impartial with respect to political movements.

Today, we have 210 clergymen appointed for service abroad. Are they public servants who are truly uninfluenced by political movements? Undoubtedly, some of them are. But it is manifestly obvious that the Idealists want to gain control of the mosques--in fact by using the Religious Affairs Chairmanship.

This was amply proven by the spectacle staged by the Idealist Federation in Koln in the presence of Minister Oksay and Chairman Altikulac.

The "Turkish Federation" in Frankfurt is the top organization of the Idealists abroad.

In every European country there is an organization affiliated with or pursuing the same political goals as the Turkish Federation.

One of these is the "Turkish-Islamic Federation of Belgium." The "Youth Congress" organized by this federation in Beringen was attended by Mehmet Okay, the educational counselor of the Turkish embassy in Brussels, and Feyha Genc, the deputy Turkish consul general in Antwerp.

The congress opened with the reading of suras from the Koran followed by a rendition of the Turkish national anthem.

Educational Counselor Mehmet Okay delivered a speech "on behalf of the embassy."

The 1986 annual report of the "Turkish-Islamic Federation of Belgium" states that "Koranic schools have been opened" and that "female preachers" have been brought to organize religious discussions in mosques and homes.

The report also says that, with the permission of educational counselors, teachers were brought to offer seminars on religious issues.

Religious Affairs-Idealist Collaboration

It can easily be said that the Religious Affairs Chairmanship and the "Turkish-Islamic Federation" collaborate with each other in Belgium. Their relationship is highly evident.

Turkish citizens working abroad naturally contact counselors and attaches in embassies and consulates for consultations on religious issues. Nothing could be more natural than that.

However, the political links of organizations and societies acting as intermediaries between the citizens and the officials give rise to certain implications.

The "Idealist infiltration" of recently established Religious Affairs foundations is manifestly evident.

Like almost all other government agencies, the Religious Affairs Chairmanship has come under the influence of various political movements in recent years and its staff structure has been affected by these movements.

For example, there has been no conflict between the Religious Affairs Chairmanship and the National View or the Nurists or the Idealists matching the intensity or the scope of the conflict with the Suleymanists.

On the contrary, religious officials who could be labeled as "Idealist" or "pro-National View" have been appointed to key positions.

Example of Cemalettin Kaplan

Cemalettin Kaplan is a sad and recent example of this "politicized staffing" process.

Kaplan's close ties with the NSP were widely known. Imagine that Cemalettin Kaplan, with his known political ties, was able to rise as high as the deputy chairmanship of Religious Affairs and to serve as the Mufti of Adana for 15 years.

Would it be appropriate then to expect that this politicization of personnel would not affect mosques overseas?

Not surprisingly this process has quickly spread to mosques overseas.

The inadequacy of the services provided by the Religious Affairs Chairmanship abroad created a vacuum which was filled by the "Suleymanists," the "National View," the "Nurists," the "Idealists" and, more recently, pro-Iranian organizations.

The Religious Affairs Chairmanship was too late in taking its services to the citizens abroad, and when it was able to offer its long-delayed services they were tainted with the politicization of its staff.

This is what appears to be the case and it is so evident that it needs no "witnesses."

[12 Mar 87 p 6]

[Text] The mosques overseas are divided among movements and groups with political ties.

A survey of the mosques in Berlin and the organizations which control them offers a good picture of this situation.

There are exactly 30 mosques in Berlin.

Of these, 12 are "pro-Religious Affairs," 10 are "pro-National View," 2 are "Idealist," 3 are "Suleymanist" and the remaining three are controlled by Cemalettin Kaplan.

Which Berlin Mosques Controlled by Whom?

The mosques affiliated with the Religious Affairs Chairmanship are:

Turkish Martyrdom Mosque, Muradiye Mosque, Selamiye Mosque, Bedir Mosque, Sehzade Mosque, Orhangazi Mosque, Sultan Ahmet Mosque, Yunus Emre Mosque, Nuru Osmaniye Mosque, Aksemsettin Mosque, Anadolu Mosque and Osman Gazi Mosque.

The mosques affiliated with the "Islamic Federation" which said is to be "pro-National View" are:

Fatih Mosque, Mevlana Mosque, Emir Sultan Mosque, Haci Bayram Mosque, Yeni [New] Mosque, Ayasofya Mosque, Vakif Mosque, Pasa Masjit, Ensar Mosque and Islamic Association Center Mosque.

Mosques affiliated with the "Turkish Hearth" in Berlin, which is said to be "Idealist," are:

Ulu Mosque, Eyup Mosque and Sultan Mosque.

Mosques affiliated with the "Islamic Cultural Centers" known to be "Suleymanist" are:

Abdalmecit Mosque, Beyazit Mosque and Suleymaniye Mosque.

Mosques affiliated with the "Association of Islamic Congregations and Societies," that is the pro-Iranian Kaplan Hoja, are:

Ittihat Mosque, Serafettin Mosque and Imam Cafer Sadik Mosque.

Similar divisions exist in other European countries and cities. The actual divisions are more or less the same with minor variations in favor of one or another organization.

But such divisions are in place everywhere.

Divisions Begin in Turkey, Tehran, Riyadh

I ask everywhere. I ask counselors and attaches in our embassies and consulates. I ask Suleymanist imams, supporters of the National View, Kaplan Hoja's men. I ask almost everyone:

"If there is one God, one Koran and one Prophet what are all these divisions?"

Each of them gives his own reasons.

None of the answers appear credible.

Why do these differences exist? Why does this endless hatred which resembles a sectarian war go on? Why is there so much discord?

The causes of this conflict are more political than religious. This is the first cause. And the roots of the conflict are in Turkey, Tehran and Riyadh. This is the second cause.

For a given period of time, one of these movements receives political backing. During another period, the protectors and their proteges change.

Cadres are formed depending on political developments. Thus religion stops being religion; it becomes a means of propaganda and show of force among various political groups.

Niyazi Baloglu, the religious counselor of our embassy in Bonn, is a civil man. I discuss these matters with him in detail. The government will naturally run its religious services through the Religious Affairs Chairmanship. On that, we agree.

But what about the political movements? What about their efforts to influence clergymen? What about them?

Baloglu replies to this question: "We try to be careful on that issue."

I do not and cannot know how successful they are in that approach.

Islamic Movement in Denmark

The Islamic movements in Denmark are not as strong and well-organized as those in the FRG. But here, too, the same organizations have begun to play a dominant role.

The Saudi-financed "Islamic Cultural Centers" wield influence in Copenhagen as they do everywhere else.

Some Turkish clergymen have visited Saudi Arabia with scholarships donated by the "Islamic Cultural Centers."

One of these clergymen is Mehmet Degirmenci.

After receiving religious training in Riyadh with a scholarship from the "Rabita organization," Degirmenci opened a Koranic school in Copenhagen.

The name of the school is interesting: "The Faisal School."

The "Turkish Religious Affairs Foundation of Denmark," established on 18 May 1985 has begun to take control of the mosques.

Of course, to the extent that it can.

The Foundation has bought buildings in Slagelse and Ishold.

Suleymanism, the National View, Nurism, Idealism and "Communicationism" are all present to some extent in Denmark.

Of course, the situation prevailing in Germany has not yet come to Denmark.

For example, Kaplan Hoja went to Denmark last September. The place where he is most influential is a mosque on the Jylland peninsula near the FRG border.

Kaplan Hoja's visit to Copenhagen was reportedly not too successful. Only 100, at most 150, people listened to the Hoja.

Moreover, half of his audience were those who came with him from the FRG.

Islamic Radio in Copenhagen

In Copenhagen there is also a radio station that broadcasts Islamic programs.

The station is affiliated with the Saudi-financed Islamic Cultural Center.

The radio station is called "Fatiha."

The Turkish embassy has reached an accord with the Islamic Cultural Center to have a Turk speak on Turkish-language programs.

The station's Turkish name is now "Radio Fatih."

It appears that the "Rabita organization" wields strong influence here as well. It propagates religious and political views through the Islamic Cultural Centers.

As it does everywhere else.

Kadir Misirlioglu, the notorious enemy of Ataturk who publishes and sells Riza Nur's memoirs, visited Copenhagen last year.

He met with his own men and left.

When asked about "where Misirlioglu lives," different Islamic groups give the same answer:

"He lives in Saudi Arabia. But he occasionally travels to the FRG, Britain and Switzerland."

In London, we discuss Islamic movements abroad with a clergyman from Konya. His name is Aydin Tari.

Known as "Aydin Hoja," Tari graduated from the Istanbul Islamic Institute in 1963-64. After serving as a "headquarters preacher" in Istanbul for a while, he retired and settled in London.

I ask: "What made you decide to settle in London? Who sponsored you?"

He says that Professor Nevzat Yalcintas sponsored him.

Tari now works in the "Islamic-Turkish Society" in London.

Aydin Hoja says:

"There are 12,000 children here. They have received virtually no religious education. They do not even speak Turkish. How can you teach religion to students who do not even speak Turkish? Consequently, I first teach the children Turkish. Neither their Turkish nor their English is very good. The children are confused between the two cultures. The Turkish government has not paid much attention to these issues here. The embassy does not even have a religious counselor. When the government is so inattentive, the resulting vacuum was filled by others."

Aydin Tari is both a clergyman and a musician. He is very fond of Turkish music. He was a student of composer Sadettin Kaynak.

He says: "He was an imam at the Sultanahmet Mosque. I used to admire him."

Tari says he has his own compositions.

We listen to a recording of one of Cemalettin Kaplan's speeches together with Tari.

Tari is both aggravated and amused by Kaplan.

I tell him about my impressions of Kaplan.

He says that he agrees with me.

Another Turk whose name is mentioned in connection with religious issues in London is Ramadan Huseyin Guney, a Turkish Cypriot.

Guney is on the administration of the Turkish-Islamic Trust. He is also a fairly wealthy businessman.

He is not on good terms with Aydin Hoja.

The "Rabita organization" is influential in London as everywhere else. Rabita runs its activities in London through a society called the "Council of Mosques."

Dr Selim Has is the deputy president of Rabita.

Bahri Baltan and Naim Bilaloglu are two hojas who received religious training in Riyadh with funding from Rabita.

The "Council of Mosques," located at 46 Goodge St., London W1, also publishes a small newsletter called AN-NIDA.

AN-NIDA carries news about meetings and seminars of Islamic organizations in Europe financed by Rabita.

Of course, the newsletter also carries a column entitled "Friday Sermon" which focuses on religious themes.

Kadir Misirlioglu often visits London.

How are these mosques bought? Who pays the salaries of these imams?

All these questions converge at a single point. In mosques controlled by the Religious Affairs Chairmanship the clergymen are paid from the Treasury.

But who pays the salaries of clergymen who work in mosques controlled by the Suleymanists, the National View, the Idealists and the Communicationists.

If you ask that question, the response you get is: "The congregation."

For example, the "Association of Islamic Congregations and Societies" pays the salary of Abdullah Arslan--born in Tokat in 1944--for his services as the imam of the Iskender Pasa Mosque in Rotterdam.

The "Turkish-Islamic Cultural Societies" pays the salary of Omer Solgu who works in Utrecht, Holland.

The "Islamic Youth Organization" pays the salary of Huseyin K. Ece--born in Gumushane in 1958--for his services as the imam of the Communicationist-controlled Ayasofya Mosque in Zaandam, Holland.

Some of the clergymen serving in the mosques controlled by these organizations have visited Iran. Others have visited Riyadh with help from Rabita.

Religion is a sacred sentiment. It is an area that must remain between man and God. But as is seen here, political movements have removed religion from where it belongs and have made it a political tool.

The "moral leader" of the "Islamic Cultural Centers," Kemal Kacar, is a former JP deputy from Istanbul.

The president of the "Association for Assistance to Course and School Students," Ali Ak, is also a JP deputy from Icel.

The links between Suleymanism and politics are highly evident. Before 12 September, the Suleymanists backed the JP—and the Nation Party previous to that. After 12 September, they supported the Nationalist Democracy Party for a while and then the Motherland Party [MP] during the local elections.

Now God is great.

They will support whatever party Kemal Kacar chooses—most probably the Correct Way Party [CWP].

As for the "Nurists," their publication, KOPRU [Bridge], carries statements by Suleyman Demirel. The Nurists will probably vote for the CWP in the next general elections.

The "National View" originally supported the National Order Party and later switched to the NSP. Now they support the Prosperity Party. This is quite obvious.

Meanwhile, the Idealists support the Nationalist Work Party.

However, all these movements--the Suleymanists, the National View as well as the Idealists--have extensions in the ruling MP.

The MP has been trying to unite all these Islamist movements under its own roof.

To that end, plans are made and tactics and strategies are formulated.

The MP has its eyes on the Suleymanists. Ozal is intent on tearing away the Suleymanists from the CWP and turn them into a depository of votes for his own party.

This is why on 8 September 1984 Ozal said his holiday prayers at the Ulu Mosque in Hamburg which is controlled by the "Islamic Cultural Centers."

After praying at Ulu Cami, which is controlled by the Suleymanist "Islamic Cultural Centers," Ozal went to the Beyazit Mosque which is run by the Religious Affairs Chairmanship.

Perhaps that is why Ret Col Arif Collu, a known "Suleymanist," was appointed to the Religious Affairs Chairmanship.

Ozal is doing everything he can to attract the politically powerful Suleymanists to the ranks of the MP.

The MP is naturally interested in winning the support of this movement which was able to attract to its ranks Ret Maj Gen Muzaffer Toygar, a 1936 graduate of the War Academy.

Religious movements are not vehicles of expression for religious and political sentiments alone. As we will see later on, they also act as sources of commercial wealth.

Sami Binicioglu, a former JP parliamentary deputy who was convicted of drug trafficking in France in 1972, apparently formed the "Islamisches Ansar Zentrum" registered in Berlin by court case number 95 VR 7874 out of his wish "to repent."

This Islamist organization was formed on 2 September 1984 by Turkish, Lebanese, Indonesian, Egyptian and Jordanian Islamists.

Let us enumerate the Turks: M. Sefa Bayraktar, an idealist; Mecit Gezer, a pilot; Abdulkadir Turkmen, a businessman; and the "Charitable Mustafa Hoja," or Mustafa Omer Yucel, who has won fame as the Turk who converts Germans to Islam.

It is normal to expect imams employed in mosques controlled by the Religious Affairs Chairmanship to be paid from the government budget of the Turkish Republic.

Rabita Pays Salaries

If I told you that "the salaries of these imams was for some time paid by the pro-Shari'a organization called 'Rabitat-ul Alem-ul Islam,'" you would say: "That is impossible."

But it happened. And it happened during the 12 September period. At a time when Ataturkism was most frequently talked about.

I learned about this issue from a person who served as a cabinet minister during the 12 September period. The person wishes to remain anonymous. He said:

"Mr Mumcu: The Religious Affairs Chairmanship was too late in taking its services abroad. As a result, movements such as Suleymanism and the National View had a free rein overseas. We tried to dispatch clergymen overseas immediately. But we realized that there was neither legislation nor any funds to do that. We reached an accord with the Saudis. In accordance with this agreement, from 1982 through 1984 the salaries of the Turkish imams were paid by the Rabita organization."

The salary paid was \$1,100 a month.

This money was paid by Rabita to the Turkish embassies which paid the imams.

This practice first began in Belgium; later, Rabita began paying the salaries of Turkish imams in the FRG as well.

I inquired about this issue during my conversation with the director of the Islamic Cultural Center in Brussels, Head Imam Al-Ahdal.

In fact this was the primary purpose of my meeting with Al-Ahdal.

After discussing other issues, I eventually asked him:

"Can you comment on the salaries Rabita paid to Turkish imams?"

He talked about it.

Head Imam Al-Ahdal is both the director of the "Islamic Cultural Center" and the European representative of the pro-Shari'a organization known as "Rabitat-ul Alem-ul Islam." He knows Tayyar Altikulac and other officials of the Religious Affairs Chairmanship very well.

He knows the names of all of Altikulac's staff.

He said: "Rabita has paid the salaries of Turkish imams since 1980."

Who Made Accord with Rabita?

Who made this agreement?

The minister who wishes to remain anonymous said: "The Foreign Ministry signed the agreement."

I asked the Foreign Ministry:

"Who signed the accord regarding the payment of Turkish imams' salaries by Rabita?"

Here is the reply given by the Foreign Ministry:

"The Rabita organization paid the salaries of clergymen posted in Belgium in 1982. Then this practice stopped. However, this arrangement was made by the Religious Affairs Chairmanship, not the Foreign Ministry."

Who signed this "accord"? The Religious Affairs Chairmanship or the Foreign Ministry?

The former minister insists: "The Religious Affairs Chairmanship has no authority to sign such an accord. The accord was signed by the Foreign Ministry."

Head Imam Al-Ahdal said:

"Yes we paid them. The members of the administrative council of the Islamic Cultural Center include five ambassadors one of which is your ambassador. Three Rabita representatives are also on the council. We have a say in the appointment of religious teachers from Turkey. However, we turned over this

authority to your government by some type of gentlemen's agreement. Your government now decides who is appointed as teacher."

I asked the same question to whomever I talked to overseas:

"Do you know anything about the \$1,100-per-month salary paid by Rabita to Turkish imams?"

Almost everyone knows about this matter.

From 1982 through 1984, the Rabita organization paid the salaries of imams appointed by the Religious Affairs Chairmanship.

Unfortunately and sadly this is what happened.

The entire Turkish government could not find any money to pay its imams abroad and asked the pro-Shari'a organization, "Rabitat-ul Alem-ul Islam" to pay them.

They asked this organization which has printed and distributed the book "Idol Man" which is filled with insults against Ataturk.

And they reached this "accord" at a time when they were talking about Ataturkism day in and day out.

[13 Mar 87 p 6]

[Text] The "Rabitat-ul Alem-ul Islam" has a 41-member "founders' council" composed of members from various Islamic countries.

At the founding of Rabita Turkey was represented by Salih Ozcan, the owner of the magazine HILAL [Crescent].

Later, Ozcan became a NSP deputy from Sanliurfa. Later on, we will see him as the founder of the "Faisal Finance Corporation."

The second Turk in Rabita is Ahmet Gurkan, the president of the "Turkish-Saudi Arabian Friendship Society."

Gurkan served in the TGNA as a Democratic Party deputy between 1950 and 1957 and as a JP deputy between 1961 and 1965.

Arabic Prayer Sponsor

If the fact that the Faisal Finance Corporation was founded by Salih Ozcan, a founding member of Rabita, is a "coincidence," then the fact that Ozcan was the first parliamentary deputy who proposed in 1950 the abolishment of the penal code article banning the saying of prayers in Arabic is also a "coincidence."

Rabita became an issue of debate in Turkey after Minister of State Hasan Aksay attended the "Seerat Congress" in Pakistan in 1976.

Hasan Aksay at Rabita Congress

The "International Seerat Congress" which convened in the Rawalpindi, Islamabad, Azad Kashmir, Peshawar and Karachi in Pakistan between 3 and 14 March 1976 was sponsored by the "Rabita organization."

The issues discussed at the said congress included:

"—To urge all Muslim countries to endorse the Islamic Shari'a as a primary source and basis of laws;

"—To urge all Muslim countries to advance the teaching of Arabic, the language of our Holy Koran, and to raise it to the status of the global language of all Muslims."

It was announced in the congress that Rabita had opened a book and research contest on "Seerat."

At its conclusion, the congress passed the following resolutions:

"—All participants in the congress must offer Islamic education as regular coursework in all institutions of learning from elementary schools to universities.

"—The learning of Arabic must be mandatory particularly in countries where Arabic is not the mother tongue.

"—In all Muslim countries students in elementary schools must be required to commit to memory at least five chapters of the Holy Koran.

"—The teaching of the entire Koran must be mandatory in middle schools.

Koran-based Constitutional System

"—As many as possible Islamic studies institutes must be established in all Islamic countries, and these institutes must conduct Islamic studies.

"—The major commandments and suggestions of Islam must be propagated as public legislation.

"—Special attention must be paid to the propagation of Islamic morality and values.

"—Constitutional institutions in Islamic countries must be made compatible with Islamic principles and must be articulated to the people in Arabic.

"—Un-Islamic laws must be abolished and laws compatible with the Shari'a must be strengthened.

"—In all offices and workplaces, contracts and regulations must be set forth with prayers; such places must have their own masjits and imams.

"—All women of the world must comply with Islamic prohibitions.

"—Steps must be taken to establish the modern Islamic state which will be fully based on the Shari'a.

"—The Islamic League must be reestablished; all Muslim countries must declare that they are 'Islamic states' and they must form a federation and run the caliphate jointly."

The participation of the Demirel government's NSP Minister of State, Hasan Aksay, in this "Shari'a conference" brought about a controversy in those days. The Office of the Republican Prosecutor launched an inquiry into the NSP, but the issue eventually sunk into oblivion.

Congress Resolutions Implemented in Turkey

Today, looking back, we see that all the resolutions of the "Seerat Congress" convened in Pakistan in 1976 with the sponsorship of Rabita have now begun to be implemented in Turkey.

Religious courses have become mandatory in schools, the Turkish Republic has participated in Islamic conferences; in sum, the resolutions passed by that congress have since been implemented to some extent.

The success of the Rabita organization in this development cannot be minimized.

It can be said that Rabita scored its biggest success with its contribution to the formation of the Faisal Finance Corporation in Turkey.

The most instrumental figure in the formation of the Faisal Finance Corporation was Salih Ozcan.

As is known, Ozcan is the Turkish representative on the 41-member founding council of the Shari'a organization known as "Rabitat-ul Alem-ul Islam."

The fact that Ozcan, a member of the founding council of Rabita, is also the first founding partner of the Faisal Finance Corporation is obviously not a coincidence.

The other founding partner is a well-known figure: Ahmet Tevfik Paksu.

Paksu is a former NSP parliamentary deputy. For a while, he was the Minister of Labor in the Demirel government.

The Faisal Finance Corporation was established by Saudi Prince Muhammad al-Faisal.

Prince Faisal appointed Salih Ozcan to accomplish this task in Turkey.

Obviously, this selection was not "by chance."

The other Saudi partners of the said corporation, recorded in the Istanbul trade register under roll number 205923-153466, are the following Islamic finance corporations established by the Saudi monarchy:

Dar al-Maal Islami Trust, the Faisal Islamic Bank of Egypt, the Faisal Islamic Bank of Sudan and Masarraf Faisal al-Islami in Bahrain.

Salih Ozcan, the former NSP deputy from Sanliurfa and "member of the founding council of Rabita," and former NSP minister Ahmet Tevfik Paksu transferred the company stock certificates given to them to 93 individuals some of whom were politically influential.

These new 93 shareholders of the Faisal Finance Corporation included former ministers and parliamentary deputies.

Who are they?

Cemal Kulahli, the JP Minister of Agriculture in the last Demirel government.

Halil Sivgin, currently parliamentary deputy from Ankara and a former deputy leader of the MP.

Cengiz Gokcek, former NAP Minister of Health in the Demirel government.

Nuri Cerrahoglu, well-known shipowner.

Faisal Finance Shareholders

Other shareholders in the company are:

Cemal Cebeci, Sabri Ulker, Asim Ulker, Murat Ulker, O. Faruk Berksan, Selcuk Berksan, Orhan Ozokur, Ahmet Cebeci, Ahmet Nuri Yuksel, Huseyin Coskun, M. Gunduz Sevilgen, Nuri Geredeli, Avni Kucukece, Mehmet Genellioglu, Mustafa Sari, Yusuf Arikusu, Cevdet Ozdemir, Mahmut Karali, Mehmet Col, Sudi Resat Saruhan and Mehmet Ozcan.

Companies like Uzertas Corporation, Gungen Foreign Trade Corporation, Yucelen Construction and Trade Limited Company and Fenis Aluminum Corporation also obtained stock certificates from Ozcan and Paksu.

The situation was very obvious.

To start the Faisal Finance Corporation in Turkey, the Saudi Kingdom first sought out Salih Ozcan, a member of the founding council of the Shari'a organization known as "Rabitat-ul Alem-ul Islam," and appointed Ozcan to carry out this task.

Ozcan took on this responsibility together with his close friend M. Tevfik Paksu.

The stock certificates given to Ozcan and Paksu by Saudi Prince Faisal were distributed to 93 people some of whom were politically influential.

What is more interesting is the date of the government decree on the Saudi finance corporations: 16 December 1983.

The Ozal government took office on 14 December 1983 and signed this decree before even it had prepared a government program.

The decree is dated 16 December 1983 and numbered 83/7506. The Ozal government began working intensely on two issues as soon as it received a vote of confidence in the assembly.

The two issues were: The law allowing foreigners to own property in Turkey and the decree on the special finance corporations.

The law which was struck down by the Constitutional Court allowed Saudi princes to buy property on the Bosphorus.

Saudi capital would gain influence in Turkey through the special finance corporations.

First Act of Ozal Government

Article 1 of the decree dated 16 December 1983 ended with the following provision:

"The principles and procedures related to the establishment, organs, activities and liquidation of special finance corporations shall be determined by the Office of the Prime Minister through consultations with the Central Bank."

According to this article, the Prime Minister's approval is required to oversee the activities of the Saudi-backed finance corporations.

Article 13 of the decree states that the Turkish Trade Law and the Enforcement and Bankruptcy Law shall not apply to "the decisions and procedures related to the liquidation of the special finance corporations."

Then, what would be done?

The Prime Minister would decide the course to be taken in such circumstances. That is what the article says. That is what the decree envisages.

[Box p 6] Rabita Backed by Aramco

The bylaws of the organization named "Rabitat-ul Alem-ul Islam," printed in Mecca in "1983 A.H."--that is in 1963--states the goals of the organization as follows:

"--To work to make governments in Islamic countries to comply with Islamic laws.

"--To select the strong and the mature speakers from among the pilgrims coming for Haj from various countries, to train them as 'Islamic missionaries' and to send them back to their countries;

"--To provide financial assistance to Islamic media to enable them to disseminate information more efficiently and to perform their tasks more appropriately."

The "Rabitat-ul Alem-ul Islam" has a propaganda center called the "Cultural Department." The responsibilities of this Department are:

"--To expose the tyranny of laws in force in Islamic countries and to urge the governments and delegations of these countries to implement the broadminded and tolerant rules of Islam;

"--To make the meaning of the Holy Koran--as interpreted by a reliable source--and the Islamic laws comprehensible for everyone.

"--To organize summit meetings of Muslim heads of state;

"--To combat the ideologies of nationalism and racism."

This is the world's most powerful Islamist organization. There is no organization which is more powerful, better organized and richer than this organization.

The financial resources of "Rabitat-ul Alem-ul Islam" include funding by Aramco, an oil company jointly owned by Saudis and Americans.

No one wants to reveal any information about the financial resources of Rabita. How many millions of dollars does Aramco contribute to Rabita?

It is said that this amount, which is veiled in deep secrecy, is 2 and 1/2 percent of Aramco's earnings.

The clergymen selected from among pilgrims from Turkey are trained by Rabita and sent abroad as imams and clergymen.

Relations between Rabita and the Religious Affairs Chairmanship became particularly close during the 12 September period when Rabita paid the salaries of Turkish clergymen.

These "\$1,100-a-month imams" waited in long lines to be granted an appointment abroad.

During the 12 September period when much was said about "Ataturkism," the senior administration of the Religious Affairs Chairmanship established friendship with Rabita, an Islamist organization which published and distributed books insulting Ataturk.

[14 Mar 87 p 6]

[Text] This decree, which was issued as soon as the government took office, was amended in March 1984. Later, the Central Bank issued a memorandum setting the terms of operation for special finance corporations.

As is seen, this was the first issue the MP government dealt with.

The next step was the legal establishment of the "Faisal Finance Corporation" and the "Al Baraka Turk Special Finance Corporation."

The 5 August 1984 edition of the Official Gazette carried the following Council of Ministers decision signed by President Kenan Evren and Prime Minister Ozal:

"Acting on the note dated 26 June 1984 and numbered 26745 from the Ministry of State and the Office of the Prime Minister--based on the approval of the Central Bank--and in accordance with the provisions of Decree No. 83/7506 of 16 December 1983, the Council of Minister decided on 11 March 1984 to permit the establishment of the Al Baraka Turk Special Finance Corporation in Istanbul with a capital of 5 billion Turkish lira subject to the terms of the principal contract attached."

Another Council of Ministers decision published in the same issue of the Official Gazette proclaimed the establishment of the Faisal Finance Corporation.

Saudi capital had made its first inroads into Turkey.

The Faisal Finance Corporation was founded thanks to mediation by Salih Ozcan, a former NSP parliamentary deputy who represents Turkey on the founding council of the Shari'a organization known as "Rabitat-ul Alem-ul Islam."

Who were the influential personalities Saudi capital recruited to form the Al Baraka Turk Special Finance Corporation in Turkey?

Al Baraka's Prominent Names

The "influential personalities" Al Baraka found were truly interesting:

Korkut Ozal and Eymen Topbas.

Korkut Ozal is Prime Minister Ozal's brother; Eymen Topbas is the MP's provincial leader in Istanbul

Ozal and Topbas were the two most influential persons one could find for such a venture.

The "Hak Investment and Trade Corporation" in which Korkut Ozal and Eymen Topbas are partners took on the sponsorship of the Al Baraka Turk Special Finance Corporation.

Other major partners in the corporation included:

Salah Abdullah Kamel; Hussein Mohsin al-Harety, Dr Hasan Abdullah Kamel, Mahmoud Jamil Hassoubah, the Al Baraka Investment and Development Company.

The administrative council of the Al Baraka Turk Special Finance Corporation is made up of the following individuals:

His Excellency Sheik Saleh A. Kamel, president; Mustafa E. Topbas, vice-president; and members Mahmoud Jamil Hassoubah, Dr Abdul Razzak Kamel, Kemal Unakitan and Talat Ucoz. Director General: Yalcin Omer. Arif Ates Vuran, Mehmet Demirbas and M. Zeki Sayin are the comptrollers of the corporation.

Partnership Companies

Talat Ucoz, a member of Al Baraka's administrative council, is a partner, together with Korkut Ozal, in the "Ozbayrak Trade and Industry Corporation."

Korkut Ozal is also a partner in the firm "Ozbatras." This company was formed by the Ozbayrak Trade and Industry Corporation which was later renamed "Oz-Ba."

Other partners are:

Bahattin Bayraktar, Murat Mehmet Ozal, Mustafa Ali Ozal, Korkut Ozal and Talat Icoz.

"Petrotrans Shipping Corporation" is a company formed by the Ozal and Bayraktar families.

The "Akoz Trade, Consulting and Dealership Corporation" is a family company run by Korkut Ozal. His wife, sons and daughter are listed as partners in the company.

"ISPA", the Construction Industry and Marketing Corporation, is another company owned by Korkut Ozal.

In this company, Korkut Ozal's partners are Hasan Kalyoncu, Ahmet Kalyoncu, Fadil Teymun, Cemal Kalyoncu, Mustafa Seckin, Ibrahim Bulent Teymur, Ibrahim Halil Erpamukcu.

The "Akabe Construction Company" is another "Ozal-Topbas" company formed as a subsidiary of Hak Investment Corporation.

Korkut Ozal established an interest in the "Fenis Holding Company" by marrying his son, Bahattin Ozal, to the daughter of Mustafa Kalaycioglu, the owner of the "Fenis Aluminum Corporation" which is registered as shareholder 064 in the Faisal Finance Corporation.

The Topbases accompanied by the Ozals, the Bayraktars, the Teymurs and the Kalyoncus.

And lastly, the Kalaycioglus.

Korkut Ozal's path to becoming a "dollar millionaire" was first opened with his partnership with Eymen Topbas.

The Ozal-Topbas partnership extends all the way to Saudi capital through Al Baraka.

Green dollars flowing out of the Zemzam Well [in Mecca] into the safeboxes of Ozal's and Topbas's firms.

Then it was time to form a "religious foundation [vakif]."

The 8 December 1986 edition of the Official Gazette announced that 15 individuals and corporations, including Al Baraka, jointly formed a religious foundation.

Who is in Bereket Fund?

The name of the foundation: "Bereket [prosperity] Foundation."

The founders are:

Ahmet Hamdi Topbas, Osman Nuri Topbas, Mustafa Latif Topbas, Ali Eymen Topbas, Al Baraka Turk Special Finance Corporation, Ahmet Yahya Kigili, Mehmet Demirtas, Adnan Buyukdeniz, Yalcin Oner, Mehmet Cahit Surmeli, Kemal Unakitan, Abdullah Tivnikli, Abdullah Sert, Muammer Dolmaci and Ilhan Imik.

Korkut Ozal is not a founder of the "Bereket Foundation." The foundation was established by the Topbases. Their motivation is religious. The purpose of the foundation is to offer scholarship for religious education, to organize religious conferences and to provide financial assistance to religious publications.

However, Korkut Ozal is the founder of two other religious foundations.

Goals of Ozbag Foundation

One of these is called the "Ozbag Foundation." Its founders are:

Korkut Ozal, Bahattin Bayraktar, Talat Icoz, Murat Mehmet Ozal and Mustafa Ali Ozal.

We understand from the 2 January 1987 edition of the Official Gazette that the purpose of the foundation is to organize daytime and nighttime religious meetings, to build masjits, mosques and Koranic schools, to encourage religious and national research studies, to help the victims of natural disasters, to assist needy students and to help those subjected to monetary fines for non-shameful offenses.

Akoz Foundation Has Religious Objectives

The "Akoz Foundation" is another religious foundation established by Korkut Ozal. The objective of this foundation is also the promotion of the building of mosques and masjits.

Korkut Ozal has a good "reputation" in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia; he frequently travels to Riyadh.

During one of his trips he managed to win a consulting position in the Islamic Development Bank.

The previous holder of that position was a Turkish professor.

His name is Dr Nevzat Yalcintas.

Korkut Ozal took over this position from Professor Yalcintas.

During the days the said position was changing hands, Korkut Ozal's brother, Turgut Ozal, submitted a draft law to the Council of Ministers.

The draft law was entitled: "Draft Law on the Tax Exemption of the Islamic Development Bank."

Article 1 of the draft law stated:

"The Islamic Development Bank shall be exempt from all taxes, duties and fees to which it would otherwise be liable by virtue of:

"a) Its assets, revenues, decisions and operations;

"b) Paper it issues in connection with monies collected in cash or by transfer in whatever category and relevant operations;

"c) All its acquisition and transfer of real estate properties.

"The dividends paid to the bank in proportion to its capital shall be exempt from the Corporations Tax. These dividends shall not be taxed in accordance with Income and Corporations Tax laws and shall not be subject to any deductions."

Tax Exemption for Islamic Bank

The draft bill was approved by the cabinet with stunning speed and was submitted to the Budget and Planning Commission of the TGNA. During the discussion of the bill, two SDPP [Social Democratic Populist Party] deputies, Tulay Oney and Erol Agagil, opposed the measure, but the bill was endorsed by the commission and passed by the full assembly.

The Saudi-backed special finance corporations were granted special exemptions by a government decree dated 16 December 1983 which stated that the liquidation-related provisions of "the Turkish Trade Law, the Enforcement and

Bankruptcy Law and other laws shall not apply to decisions and procedures related to the liquidation [of special finance corporations]." The same circles this time offered monetary advantages to the Islamic Development Bank under the guise of "tax exemptions."

Society for Promotion of Science

The friendships within these partnerships involving the Ozals and the Topbases go back a long time. Topbas and Ozal were together in the "Society for the Promotion of Science" just as they are today.

Turgut and Korkut Ozal; Muammer, Sabahattin, Abidin, Mustafa and Eymen Topbas; Yusuf Turel; Professor Ayhan Songar; Professor Nevzat Yalcintas; Mehmet Aydin; Professor Salih Tug and industrialist Ibrahim Bodur all worked together in the "Society for the Promotion of Science."

How far did these friendships from the "Society for the Promotion Science" go?

Professor Salih Tug eventually became the president of the Intellectuals' Hearth.

Professor Nevzat Yalcintas was appointed Director General of the TRT and later became a consultant to the Islamic Development Bank.

Eymen Topbas became the provincial leader of the MP in Istanbul.

Professor Ayhan Songar was appointed member of the administrative council of the TRT.

Mustafa Topbas became the vice president of Al Baraka Turk.

Turgut Ozal became the prime minister.

His brother, Korkut Ozal, served in various ministerial positions. Later, he established partnerships with the Saudis through companies owned jointly with Topbasli and Bayraktarli. Then, he moved on to establishing religious foundations.

This is how evident and manifest everything is.

Of course, for those who know how to look and see.

The Faisal Finance Corporation was founded with the sponsorship of Saudi Prince Muhammad al-Faisal. To accomplish this task he assigned Salih Ozcan, the Turkish representative in the Shari'a organization known as "Rabitat-ul Alem-ul Islam" and a member of the founding council of the organization.

Second Partner in Faisal Finance

The second large shareholder in the Faisal Finance Corporation is a Saudi financing organization known as "Dar al-Maal Islami Trust."

Both the Faisal Finance Corporation and the Dar al-Maal Islami Trust are affiliated with the Geneva-based "Dar al-Maal al-Islam."

The chairman of the board of directors of the Islamic bank known as "Dar al-Maal al-Islam" is Prince Al-Faisal, a major shareholder in the Faisal Finance Corporation.

Dar al-Maal al-Islam is a member of the Cairo-based "International Association of Islamic Banks."

This association has 55 member Islamic banks.

Twenty of these banks are subsidiaries of Dar al-Maal al-Islam.

It is this Dar al-Maal al-Islam which controls the Saudi-backed finance corporations in Turkey.

Naturally, Dar al-Maal al-Islam is in turn directly controlled by the Saudi monarchy. There is no doubt about that.

The Luxembourg-based "Islamic Tekaful Corporation" is another "interest-free bank" established by Dar al-Maal al-Islam.

Headquartered in Luxembourg, this Islamic finance corporation has branches in Britain, the FRG, Belgium and Holland.

Regardless of which mosque you go to overseas—whether they are controlled by the Religious Affairs Chairmanship, the Suleymanists or the National View—you see large advertisements on the walls.

Tekaful Advertisements

"Bismillahirrahmanirrahim [In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful]. Islamic Tekaful Corporation."

At the entrance of the mosques pamphlets are handed out. I read one of them:

"The 9th Report and the Fatwa No. 6 dated 12-19 Rajab 1402 A.H. (April 1986) of the Canonical Jurisprudence [Fikih] Committee of the Muslim World League on Interest."

The announcement is printed on green-bordered white paper in Arabic and Turkish.

I read the fatwa:

"Glory be upon God. Prayers and greetings to our Prophet Muhammad (S.A.V) who was not followed by any other prophet. The Islamic Canonical Jurisprudence Committee convened its 9th meeting at the Muslim World League headquarters in the Holy Mecca between 12 and 19 Rajab 1402 A.H. and discussed the following issue:

"The spread of interest-charging banks, the relations of these banks with Muslims and their quest for new alternatives. This issue was put on our agenda by the Secretary General of the Muslim World League and the deputy chairman of the Committee.

"After holding discussions on this blatantly sinful issue—that is, relations between interest-charging banks and Muslims—the committee members decided that charging interest is sinful in accordance with the Book (the Holy Koran), the Sunna and Ijma. Our religion clearly states that this issue is indisputably sinful.

"Every Muslim knows that this is one of the seven gravest sins and that committing this sin is equivalent to declaring war against God and His Prophet. (The Bakara Sura: 2/278, 279).

Curse on Chargers, Payers of Interest

"According to an tradition attributed to the Prophet, the Prophet believed that 'those who charge interest, those who act on their behalf, those who write interest contracts' are all the same and He cursed them.

"Another tradition attributed to the Prophet states that 'if adultery and interest are exposed in the same location, the perpetrators will suffer the wrath of God.' A similar saying is attributed to Sahabe Ibn-i Mesud."

The fatwa, which carries the signatures of the Canonical Jurisprudence Committee chairman Abdulaziz-i Bin Abdullah Bin Baz and the members of the committee, also expresses the following views:

"Those who attempt to practice economics with the distorted mentality of Western culture have insisted that Islamic economic principles are impractical because 'there can be no economy without banks and no banks without interest.' These allegations have been refuted with the establishment of the Islamic finance corporations.

"In this regard, some governments like Pakistan have converted their national banks to Islamic banks and have banned financial transactions based on interest. Pakistan has ordered foreign banks to comply with Islamic regulations and has threatened to bar their operations if they do not comply. This is a good attitude which complies with the Sunna."

Islamic Bankers to Heaven

After lauding the exemplary behavior of Pakistan, the Canonical Jurisprudence Committee engages in propaganda using God's name:

"God will reward those who act meritoriously by doing business with Islamic finance corporations and those who founded this movement."

It is evident from this fatwa that the "founder" of the Faisal Finance Corporation, Salih Ozcan, and the founders of Al Baraka Turk, Korkut Ozal and Eymen Topbas, are already "assured of a place in heaven."

The Faisal Finance Corporation is the Turkish contact of the Islamic Tekaful Corporation which collects money by waging such intense propaganda in Turkish mosques overseas.

The managing director of the Islamic Tekaful Corporation is a Turk named Mehmet Erdogan Sergici.

The board of directors of the corporation is made up of Omar Abdi Ali and M. Fawsi Amer and Sergici.

Beside the board of directors, the Islamic Tekaful Corporation also has a "religion council."

The Islamic Tekaful Corporation and the Faisal Finance Corporation, which share the same roots, collaborate with the Vakiflar [religious trusts] Bank which is a government-owned bank.

In accordance with the "interest-free correspondence" agreement between the Faisal Finance Corporation and the Vakiflar Bank, Vakiflar Bank branches in the FRG can accept deposits on behalf of the Faisal Finance Corporation.

This is how manifest links between various Islamic finance corporations are.

First a fatwa is issued, then Islamic organizations collect money from devout Muslim citizens.

The Islamic Tekaful Corporation obtained this fatwa from the Muslim World League [Dunya Islam Birligi].

The English term for "Dunya Islam Birligi" is "Muslim World League." In Arabic, it is called "Rabitat-ul Alem-ul Islam."

Tekaful advertisements appear in large print in MILLI GAZETE issues printed in the FRG. MILLI GAZETE also carries articles which advise readers to deposit their money with Islamic finance corporations. These articles—for example, one by Nihat Abdullahoglu—are featured in Islamic Tekaful Corporation advertisements.

[15 Mar 87 p 6]

[Text] Companies, societies and foundations.

These are the three channels through which financial support is provided to religious movements.

The companies earn money jointly with Saudi-backed finance corporations.

Part of the money earned is donated to politically-motivated religious movements.

Of course, Saudi-backed companies are not the only source of money for politically-motivated religious movements. In recent years, there has been a

marked surge in the number of companies Iranian businessmen have formed with Turkish partners.

Part of the earnings of these companies are also channeled to politically-motivated religious movements.

Eymen Topbas, the owner of the "Bahariye Textile Corporation" has long been linked with politically-motivated religious foundations.

Islamic Studies Research Foundation

The "Foundation for the Promotion of Science," later changed to "Society for Promotion of Science," was established in 1973.

The founders of the organization were Abdulkadir Cavusoglu, Yusuf Turel, H. Tahsin Ugur, Nazif Celebi and their colleagues.

The members appointed to the administrative council of the foundation were:

Eymen Topbas, Sabri Ulker, Rifat Tandogan, Osman Kilic and Mehmet Aydin.

Eymen Topbas was appointed president of the administrative council and Nahit Rifki Dincer was appointed director general.

According to 1983 figures, the operating capital of the foundation was 533,315,301 Turkish lira. That is roughly equivalent to 1 billion Turkish lira in current terms.

Professor Salih Tug, a member of the "Society for the Promotion of Science" and a former president of the Intellectuals' Hearth, is also a member of the administrative council of the "Islamic Studies Research Foundation."

The president of the administrative council of this foundation is Dr Ali Ozek.

Assistant Professor Kemalettin İnsanoglu and Professor Asaf Ataseven are also members of the administrative council of this foundation.

Yusuf Turel, another prominent member of the Society for the Promotion of Science, is also an officer of the "Omer Derin Foundation" whose objective is "to promote moral and scientific studies."

Ahmet Sert, who founded the "Bereket Foundation" together with Al Baraka Turk, also founded another foundation called the "Enser Foundation" together with Ahmet Cakir, Alaattin Sahin, Ali Emirosmanoglu, Ali Erli, and Bahri Bayram. This foundation was established in 1979.

[Korkut] Ozal is the president of the administrative council of the "Turkish National Culture Foundation" established in 1969.

This foundation was established by Zeki Aytac, Halik Aktar, Cevat Babuba and former TGNA speaker Ferruh Bozbeyli.

Another officer of this foundation, which had an operating capital of 75,892,000 Turkish lira in 1983, is Professor Salih Tug of the Society for the Promotion of Science and the Intellectuals' Hearth.

The director general of the foundation is Kemal Ozpinar, the secretary general is Muzaffer Somay. Alaattin Kisakurek, Hulusi Cetinoglu and Mehmet Uzun are among the other officers of the foundation.

Suleymanist Foundations

What about the Suleymanists?

After their Koranic schools were seized by a government decree issued in 1971, the Suleymanists began establishing foundations.

In 1971, Suleyman Hilmi Tunahan's two sons-in-law, Kemal Kacar and Kamil Denizoglu, established the "Gumussoy Sevim Koranic Education Foundation." The other founders of the foundation were Huseyin Kaplan, Seyfettin Alkan and Mehmet Arikan.

The operating capital of the foundation in 1973 was 256,302,000 Turkish lira.

The "Daglilar Foundation" was also founded by the Suleymanists in Istanbul in 1971.

The founders of this foundation were E. Kemal Kacar, Huseyin Kaplan, Seyfettin Alkan, Kadir Dagli and Hasan Unal.

The operating capital of this foundation in 1979 was 143,907,000 Turkish lira.

The "Bagdatlilar Foundation" is another foundation established by the Suleymanists. The president of the administrative council of this foundation is Huseyin Kaplan.

The operating capital of this foundation in 1983 was 254 million Turkish lira. The founders are Zihni Bagdatlioglu, Ismail Bagdatlioglu, Muharrem Sanli, Mehmet Bagli and Ismail Tayhan.

The "Foundation to Serve Islam and National Culture" was established in 1973. The president of its administrative council is Huseyin Kaplan. The other founders of the foundation are Ismail Erdik, A. Sekir, Yusuf Kiran, D. Kolcu, E. A. Okur and M. Gezey.

The "Ulu Mosque Foundation" is another foundation established by the Suleymanist movements.

The founders of this foundation are Ahmet Osmanoglu, E. Ahmet Okur, Huseyin Kaplan, Tefik Serifoglu and Halik Hamzaoglu.

The operating capital of the foundation in 1973 was 162,779,000 Turkish lira.

Other foundations established by Suleymanists include the "Gunesli Koran and Koranic Studies Foundation" and the "Bakirkoy Foundation to Serve Islam and National Culture."

Tuyluoglu's Foundation

Harun Resid Tuyluoglu, the head imam of the "Islamic Cultural Centers" overseas, established an organization called "Foundation to Serve Koranic Studies and National Culture" in Izmir in 1972. The other founders of this foundation are:

Mehmet Ozturk, Yasar Gulgun, Enver Gezen, Halik Erkoc and Mustafa Pehlivan. The president of the administrative council of the foundation is Tuyluoglu.

The foundation established in Bursa in 1976 by Osman Yumakoglu, the overseas owner of the pro-National View MILLI GAZETE, is called "Osman Gazi Foundation for the Promotion of Science and Culture." The operating capital of the foundation in 1983 was 349,713,000 Turkish lira. The other founders of the foundation are Huseyin Akan, Necat Beyec, Sevki Buyukkoruklu, Basri Egridere and Ahmet Evcil.

Cemalettin Kaplan's Foundation

The foundation established by the formerly "pro-National View" Cemalettin Kaplan during the time he was the Mufti of Adana is called the "Foundation to Serve Islam."

The operating capital of this foundation in 1983 was 481,945,000 Turkish lira. The other founders of the foundation are Ali Tanriverdi and Avni Ozsahin.

Cemalettin Kaplan is the president of the administrative council of the foundation. Other officers of the foundation are Abdulkadir Kaplan, Abdulkadir Gulpinar, Ali Tanriverdi, Bekir Kucukoglu and Mustafa Cevik.

The race to establish religious foundations which began in 1971 and which gained momentum in 1987 took a new direction following a directive issued by the Ministry of Finance and Customs and published in the 11 March 1987 edition of the Official Gazette. The directive is entitled: "Procedures and Guidelines Regarding Tax Exemption of Foundations Established in Accordance with the Provisions of the Turkish Civil Law and Corporations and Organizations Involved in Scientific Research and Development Activities." This directive gave the green light to foundations with large monetary resources.

These are the stones which pave the way that leads from companies to foundations, from foundations to societies and from societies to parties and cults.

Empire in Rabita's Shadow

The organization called "Rabitat-ul Alem-ul Islam" stands behind the ties between Saudi capital and the Ozal family.

The finance corporations controlled by this Shari'a organization have already begun to influence and control economic life in Turkey.

Interest-free banks, the founders of this banks, the political influence of these founders and exemptions granted to these "finance corporations."

A steadily growing financial empire which began with the "Society for the Promotion of Science" and the Intellectuals' Hearth and which is strengthened by Saudi-backed partnerships.

A chain that links Saudi princes to the provincial leaders of the ruling party and the brother of the prime minister.

The "Rabita organization" stands at one end of the chain; the brother of the prime minister of the Turkish Republic stands at the other end.

A religious foundation phenomenon supported by circles strengthened by Saudi capital.

"Islamist" movements which are seen everywhere from the Ministry of National Education to the universities and the TRT; some of them are Suleymanists, others are pro-National View, others are pro-Khomeyni, others are Nurists and still others are proponents of the Turkish-Islamic synthesis.

All of them are opposed to the principle of secularism.

Against this background, we look at publications recommended for reading by the TEBLIGLER [Communications] magazine of the Ministry of National Education.

The magazine recommended the following religious publications to students during the period 23 April 1984 through 29 December 1986:

Publications Suggested by Ministry

"Encyclopedia of Necessary Knowledge" and "Encyclopedia of Wonders" by Yeni Asya Publications.

"I Learn to Pray" by Seda Publications.

The Children's Magazine of the paper YENI TURKIYE.

"Celebi Mehmet," "From the Koran to Ijtahat," "Hello Willow," "Faith Defeats Violence," "The Art of Organizing Meetings," "Red Belt in the Middle East," "Great Islamic Laws," "Book of Unified Islamic Canonical Jurisprudence," "Akide Tu't Tekaviye" and "Kitab'ut Tevhid and Rizalet'ul Akaid" by Yeni Asya Publications.

Islamic Monthly Magazine, Zafer Scientific Research Journal.

"I Believe in God" and "I Believe in Fate" by Damla Publishing House.

"The Institution of Primary Education in Islam" by Mustafa Bahtir.

The magazine Summary of Prophet's Traditions.

"Border Between Faith and Godlessness," "The Awaited Dawn," "Toward Enlightenment," "Scientific Studies in the Holy Koran" by Marifet Publications.

"Economy," "Our Religion" and "Stories from My Grandfather" by the Osmanli Publishing House.

"The Prophet of Peace," "He Was an Orphan," "What Is Fate," "Islamic Morality" and "The Child in the Koran" by Cihan Publishers.

"Belief in Islam" and "Prayer in Islam" by Osmanli Publishing House.

"Great Meritorious Acts" and "Islamic Brotherhood" by Uysal Bookstore.

"Dictionary of Religious Sciences" and "Sects of the Islamic Faith in Our Age" by the Selcuk Publishing House.

"Koranic Miracles" and "The Only Light" by Damla Publications.

"Islamic Foundations of Science," "Illustrated History of Islam," "The Dilemmas of Muslim Psychologists," "Window to Truth," "Death Is not the End" and "Through Life" by Cihan and Zafer Publications.

Assistant Professor Turkan Arikan, an independent parliamentary deputy from Edirne wrote to the speaker of the TGNA on 26 January 1987 and asked Minister of National Education, Youth and Sports Metin Emiroglu why his ministry recommended to schools the books "Ihya-yi Ulum'iddin," "Ehl-Sunnet Akaidi" "Istikamet, Iktisar, Tefekkur" and issues 61 and 72 of the magazine SIZINTI.

Key Positions in National Education

In his written reply, Emiroglu said: "The issues of SIZINTI were omitted from the works referenced by directive No. 255 dated 16 January 1987 of the Training and Education Council Chairmanship."

Taking advantage of the opportunities provided by the 12 September administration, the Islamist groups established major bridgeheads in the Ministry of National Education as in all the other ministries.

One of the key men of these groups, O. Vehbi Hatipoglu, is the head of the Publications and Culture Department of the Training and Education Council of the Ministry of National Education, Youth and Sports.

Hatipoglu, who is also the author of a book entitled "Struggle for Monotheism," controls publications in the Ministry of National Education.

Where do the Islamist publications find their money from?

How is this publishing network "financed" with all its newspapers, magazines, books and distribution companies?

The clues to this puzzle are hidden in the answer given to Edirne deputy Turkan Arikan's question.

We read the answer given to Arikan's question from an Umit Aslanbey report published in CUMHURIYET on 6 March 1987.

Paper Bought by Al Baraka, Faisal Finance

"Al Baraka provided 833 metric tons of paper to the Islamist newspaper, YENI TURKIYE, between 1984 and 1985. During the same period the Faisal Finance Corporation bought from SEKA [Turkish Cellulose and Paper Factories Administration] 268 metric tons of paper worth 53 million Turkish lira."

Who benefits from interest-free loans? Which publishing houses and which newspapers?

Conclusion:

The principle of secularism is the strongest assurance of freedom of religion and faith. This principle was introduced to prevent politically-motivated religious movements from taking over the government. Through the events that we have been observing in our daily life, we have become better aware of the importance and the indispensibility of this principle.

Turkey's Future Course

In recent years, Turkey has been dragged into a political orbit which is alien to the purpose of its establishment. The "secular" Turkish Republic participates in the "Islamic Conference" which was established under the sponsorship of King Faisal of "Islamist" Saudi Arabia. The Saudi monarchy, which acts in full solidarity with the United States, is now imposing its Islamist ideology on the secular Turkish Republic.

The first Turkish prime minister who attended the "Islamic Conference"--which was established in 1968--was Bulend Ulusu, the prime minister of the 12 September administration.

In the 4th Islamic Summit Conference in Morocco in 1984, Turkey was represented by President Kenan Evren.

At that meeting, Evren was elected Chairman of the Economic and Trade Advisory Council of the Islamic Conference Organization.

During Turgut Ozal's tenure as prime minister, Turkey was represented in the Islamic Conference at the ministerial level. Former Minister of National Education, Youth and Sports Vehbi Dincerler attended the Islamic Conference meeting in Pakistan as the "representative of the secular Turkish Republic."

This political and ideological strategy of the Saudi monarchy was followed by Saudi-backed finance corporations, companies and religious foundations. This extensive network of ties has affected our society.

Saudi, Iranian Influence

Today, Turkey's doors are wide open to Saudi-backed Islamist movements.

I believe that probably one the saddest episodes in the history of our republic is Turkey's consent to have the salaries of its overseas clergymen paid by a Saudi-run Shari'a organization named "Kabita."

This is an episode which can rankle Ataturk's bones in his grave.

The second source of the Islamist movements is Iran.

We must acknowledge that every revolution has some influence on the rest of the world. The French revolution of 1789, the Russian revolution of 1919 and our own national liberation war led to major changes around the world and each had its supporters and opponents in many countries. Similarly, this change known as the "Islamic reformation" will naturally have its supporters and opponents everywhere around the globe. Such events must be viewed as sociological phenomena. From that perspective, the existence of supporters of the "Islamic reformation" in Iran in and outside Turkey is normal. What is not and should not be normal is that the proponents of this ideology are treated as the "official representatives" of that countries and work as the "propaganda tools" of those governments.

Solution: Freedom of Thought

We are living in the last quarter of the 20th century. The history of mankind teaches us that ideas and beliefs cannot be exterminated by force. On the contrary, political views and beliefs which governments have tried to suppress or exterminate by force have grown stronger precisely because of the repression.

The solution to this problem is the elimination of all restrictions on freedom of thought and belief. There is no other solution. In liberal and democratic societies, there is a constant battle against the triangle of "politics, cults and trade." In closed regimes, these movements take over government cadres by foul and sinister methods.

I believe that Ataturk's principle of secularism can only be defended in a liberal democracy.

In democracies, solutions must be sought in freedom and not in prohibitions.

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